

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. V. (New Series), No. 194.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1911.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free.)



SHADE OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON: Mr. Asquith, yield before it is too late; remember even the Iron Duke gave way.

[The Duke of Wellington believed Ireland was on the verge of civil war, and so, after having for years strenuously resisted every step in the direction of Catholic Emancipation, himself led a measure for the purpose and passed it. During the debate in the Upper House he said, "I am one of those who have probably passed a longer period of my life engaged in war than most men, and principally, I may say, in civil war; and I must say this, that if I could avoid, by any sacrifice whatever, even one month of civil war in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it."—From "A Consideration of the State of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century," by Locker Lampson.]

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

The refusal of justice to women has provoked the inevitable sequel of rebellion. Patience, argument, conciliation had all been tried by women and had failed. The Government had replied by insult. To the demand for Votes for Women the Government proposed more Votes for Men. Unmoved by ideas of honour or justice, the Government are now being

confronted by the harsher and sterner methods which alone they seem to understand.

Forty Years of Quiet Agitation.

To see the events of last Tuesday in their full perspective, we must go back over 40 years to the beginning of the great agitation for Woman Suffrage. In the seventies and eighties of last century by a succession of great meetings and monster petitions, including in all over three million signatures, women demonstrated their intense desire for the franchise. A majority of Members of Parliament were returned pledged to support Votes for Women; but by a succession of despicable tricks politicians continued to defraud women of their rights. The cause retrogressed and women lost heart.

The Militant Tactics.

Then, in 1905, a handful of women determined on new tactics. Cost what it might, they would insist on fair dealing. They would at least compel Ministers to declare their policy. A militant campaign was in-

augurated and carried on for several years. The cause made progress. At first the women inflicted no injury on person or property, but suffered themselves to be assaulted by the police, arrested and imprisoned. They were told that they were playing at revolution; that they were merely hysterical and anxious for martyrdom. So little by little the methods became more vigorous. The hunger strike was also adopted, to which the Government replied by the brutal practice of forcible feeding in prison.

The Conciliation Movement.

Then in 1910, with a new Parliament sitting in Westminster, attempts were made by third parties at conciliation. It was suggested that if militant tactics were suspended the Government would give facilities for a "Conciliation Bill" to be carried through the House of Commons. The actual terms of the Conciliation Bill differed only very slightly from the demand of women for the "vote on equal terms," and it was decided by the Women's Social and Political Union to give the new method a trial. In the session of 1910 the Conciliation Bill seemed likely to pass, but Mr. Lloyd George threw his whole weight against it and facilities were refused. Again in the present year a similar thing happened, but on this occasion a definite promise of facilities for 1912 was given by the Government. In view of this promise the W.S.P.U. continued to hold its hand.

Manhood Suffrage.

On October 7 Mr. Asquith announced the intention of the Government to introduce a Manhood Suffrage

TO LONDON MEMBERS.

The W.S.P.U. Meeting on

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 23,

IS BEING HELD, AT 8 P.M., IN THE

SAVOY THEATRE

(Entrance from Strand or Embankment.)

Instead of in the Steinway Hall.

Bill next year. This completely changed the whole situation. In the first place, by introducing a party measure of franchise reform, Mr. Asquith destroyed the possibility of securing a non-party solution of Woman Suffrage. In the second place, by changing the qualification for the male suffrage from a limited to an unlimited basis, he made it impossible for women to accept the Conciliation Bill as a satisfactory settlement of their claim for equal franchise rights for men and women. The Women's Social and Political Union at once appointed a deputation to see Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George to lay their views before them and hear their reply. The Prime Minister fixed Friday last for receiving the deputation.

Mass Meeting in the Albert Hall.

On the eve of the deputation the W.S.P.U. held a mass meeting in the Royal Albert Hall, and carried a resolution calling on the Government to withdraw the Manhood Suffrage Bill, and introduce in its stead a measure giving equal franchise rights to men and women. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence announced that if the Government refused to concede these just demands she would herself lead a great demonstration of protest to Parliament Square on the Tuesday following. Miss Christabel Pankhurst explained to the meeting the trick which the Government were attempting to play on women, and the necessity for standing firm at this crisis in order to prove to the Government that they refused to be betrayed. A sum of over £4,000 was put together for the campaign fund of the W.S.P.U.

The Deputation at Downing Street.

At Downing Street the following day, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George received a deputation consisting of nine suffrage societies. The W.S.P.U. was represented by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Tuke, Miss Elizabeth Robins, Miss Annie Kenney, and Lady Constance Lytton. Miss Pankhurst first addressed the Prime Minister. She pointed out to him that his declaration with regard to Manhood Suffrage had at once split the ranks of the supporters of Votes for Women in the House of Commons. It had alienated the members of the Unionist Party and many moderate Liberals. Without their votes Woman Suffrage could not be carried unless it became a Government measure and had behind it the united forces of the Coalition. Therefore, the W.S.P.U. demanded that the Government should make itself responsible for the inclusion of Woman Suffrage in the Government Reform Bill.

An Analogy from Irish Home Rule.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence drew an analogy from the case of Ireland. There had been a great agitation in that country for Home Rule, in response to which the Government were proposing to introduce an Irish Home Rule Bill. What would be the temper of the Nationalist party if the Government had proposed instead to introduce a Home Rule Bill for England, another for Scotland, another for Wales, and to leave Ireland under the Imperial Government? That was what the Government were proposing to do for women, and there was no answer to it except vigorous and determined protest. Representatives of other Suffrage Societies followed, who took various views of the political situation.

Mr. Asquith's Reply.

Mr. Asquith in his reply denied the imputation of bad faith, and contended that he was returning to the position he held in 1908. He quite understood the claim of the W.S.P.U., but was not prepared to accede to it. He, as an anti-suffragist, was prepared to bow to the will of the Commons, but he was not going to consent to the Government of which he was the head introducing a Woman Suffrage Bill. Mr. Lloyd George expressed the view that this position of the Prime Minister was entirely reasonable. But he hoped that a Woman Suffrage amendment would be carried to the Reform Bill. If this were done, those who said it was all a trick to balk women would look very foolish. To which Miss Pankhurst replied, "We shall not mind that if we get the vote."

View of "The Times."

In a remarkable leading article on the following morning, "The Times" discussed the situation, and pointed out that the diagnosis of the situation by the W.S.P.U. was entirely correct.

Woman Suffrage is not a party question; it cuts across the regular party lines, as Mr. Asquith said; and the support which has enabled it repeatedly to secure a majority in the House of Commons is drawn from all sides. But the Government propose to bring in a Reform Bill, which will be an out-and-out party measure. If they included Woman Suffrage in the Bill it might perhaps command the whole forces at the back of the Government; but they are not going to do that. They are going to let it be included as an amendment if the House chooses to have it. But in order to secure its adoption as a non-party free amendment, support would be required from the Opposition, which would be expecting them to treat a party measure as a non-party one. It would fall between two stools. Conservative supporters would be alienated and no pressure would be put on the Ministerial side to make up for them. If, on the other hand, the matter is left, which the National Union suggests as an alternative, to be dealt with in the form of the Conciliation Bill, it will not have the smallest chance of serious consideration. The way will be blocked by the Reform Bill.

The *Times* proceeded to say that though as Anti-Suffragists they could not regret this result, nevertheless

the Suffragists had reason to complain of their treatment.

Mr. Lloyd George.

Mr. Lloyd George subsequently unfolded his attitude through the medium of P.W.W.'s column in the *Daily News* and the London Letter in the *Manchester Guardian*. He proposes either to move or support an amendment to the Manhood Suffrage Bill, which shall extend the vote to women householders, and to the wives of men electors. This amendment he professes to think he can carry through the House of Commons. There are two things to note about this, firstly, it would not bring about sex equality; it is not in accordance with the statement made by Mr. Lloyd George to the Men's Political Union at the Whitefield Tabernacle, when he advocated the Australian and New Zealand franchise, which is adult suffrage. Secondly, there is no real chance of this amendment being carried; Unionists would not vote for it; Liberal Anti-suffragists would not vote for it. Woman Suffrage can only be carried in one of two ways—either by the Coalition acting together solidly for a party bill, or by Suffragists of all political views voting for a non-party measure. Mr. Lloyd George's proposal is neither one nor the other, and would therefore fail.

How the W.S.P.U. Replied.

Faced by such trickery and chicanery there was only one reply possible to self-respecting women. That reply consisted of action. Action is always stronger and more convincing than words, and action the W.S.P.U. were prepared to take. On Tuesday many hundred women, led by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, made a demonstration of protest. The passive methods which had led to the brutal ill-usage of women in November last year were no longer resorted to. The procession of women from Caxton Hall to Parliament Square was reinforced by an immense number of militant women, who, with stones and hammers applied to the windows of the Government buildings and other adjacent property, manifested in an unmistakable manner their determination not to submit to injustice.

The Prisoners.

The total number arrested on Tuesday night amounted to 223, three of whom were men. Of these 114 were charged with damage, and the others with various offences. The prisoners included Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Lady Constance Lytton, Mrs. Brailsford, Miss Wallace Dunlop, Mrs. Earl, Miss Joachim, Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, Mrs. Marshall, Miss Patricia Woodlock, Miss Marie Naylor, Miss Winifred Mayo and many others who have suffered several previous imprisonments, as well as many new recruits such as Lady Sybil Smith, Mrs. Sudd Brown, Miss Edith Downing, Mrs. Mansell Moullin, Miss J. C. Methven, Miss Janie Allen, Dr. Marie Pethick (Mrs. Lawrence's sister), and Miss Janette Steer.

The Hearing at Bow Street.

Before we went to press on Wednesday night only a very small proportion of the cases had been disposed of at Bow Street. Some received sentences of a week, others 14 days, others 21 days, and others a month. A new feature of the proceedings was that several of the women who were charged with doing damage to a greater amount than £5 were committed for trial at the London Sessions. The remaining cases were adjourned till Thursday.

The Dates of Release.

The first batch of prisoners are due to be released from Holloway on the morning of Tuesday next, and will receive a very hearty welcome from members and friends of the Union. It has been arranged to hold the weekly meeting of the W.S.P.U. on Thursday next, in the Kensington Town Hall, instead of in the Steinway Hall, so as to give opportunities for a larger audience, and it is expected that the prisoners already released by that date will be present and will address the meeting.

Mr. Lloyd George at Bath.

Mr. Lloyd George is to speak at Bath to-day. Some time ago the W.S.P.U. were approached by the conveners of the meeting to know whether they would refrain from interrupting his speech. They answered that they were willing to do so provided Mr. Lloyd George would receive a deputation before the meeting and would also answer at the meeting three specific questions. These conditions, which the conveners of the meeting admitted were reasonable, were apparently refused by Mr. George, for the instruction was given that only certain privileged women were to be allowed in. Subsequently, when the Manhood Suffrage Bill was announced, the W.S.P.U. again approached Mr. Lloyd George to receive a deputation at Bath; this was categorically refused. The W.S.P.U. will therefore take their own means of bringing home to Mr. Lloyd George their view of his position.

Mr. Lyttelton's View.

Under the title "Mr. Lloyd George and the Ladies—Found Out," the *Daily Mail* prints an interesting extract from a recent speech of the Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, in the course of which he is reported to have said, "The dull masculine sex was often taken in by him (Mr. Lloyd George), but with ladies he did not fare so very well, for they had an instinctive judgment which penetrated to the heart of his fair words."

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Evening Gown (as sketch), in satin veiled with nain, with tiny wreaths of roses, double tunic skirt finished with beaded fringe, daintily tucked bodice, with plain tucker and folded belt of soft satin.

98/6

CATALOGUE POST FREE.

LETTER FROM THE CO-EDITOR AND
TREASURER.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

Dear Fellow Members of the Union and readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN:—I know you will rejoice with me in the splendid total raised in the Royal Albert Hall. The box collection alone totalled over £200. The gifts from the local unions amounted also to over £200. £50 was most generously promised by the Men's Political Union. What a symbol such gifts are of the close fellowship that binds together those women and men who are working in devotion to a common ideal, in comradeship and in communion of spirit and action. Altogether we raised for the War Chest the magnificent sum of £4,250.

And now for a time I must leave the financial cares of the Union in other hands. I know that you will support those who take my place in the responsibility of furnishing the sinews of war to the great army who are carrying on our campaign of freedom.

I want to commit specially to you all the work in connection with the Christmas Fair and Fête at the Portman Rooms, which opens next Monday week. Much of my time and thought for some months have been concentrated on this scheme. I desire ardently its success. I want it to be a great re-union of members from every part of the country and from every district in London. I regard it as a very special opportunity of bringing the outside public into touch with our movement, and in order to achieve this end it must be given the utmost publicity. There must be a campaign of handbill distribution, and letters of invitation must be sent out to the entire circle of friends and acquaintances which we individually possess.

Last, but not least, the Christmas Fair must furnish funds for the Campaign. So far as the Headquarters organisation is concerned, it is enough for me to know that it rests in the devoted and efficient hands of Mrs. Tuke, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and my other colleagues on the Staff. But now, as always, the essential element for success lies in the enthusiastic and concentrated co-operation of the thousands of individuals who constitute the strength of this movement. And to them I say, make the overwhelming success of the Christmas Fair a tribute to your comrades in prison, and show the world that Suffragettes are fighting their great battle with a merry as well as a determined heart.

Finally I commit to you all very specially during the next few weeks the interests of our paper, of which I am co-editor. Advertise it more widely than ever, extend its sale, and win new permanent subscribers.—Ever yours in communion of service,

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

THE NEXT PROTEST.

Send in your Names!

Already we have opened a new list of volunteers for active service. We must be prepared to repeat the impressive protest made last Tuesday. The Manhood Suffrage Bill must be killed in order that it may be replaced by a Government measure giving equal voting rights to men and women.

The political liberty of women depends at this crisis upon the courage and steadfastness of Members of the Union. They will fight, even though they fight alone, against the betrayal of the Cause to which the Union is pledged. Honour the women who played so brave a part on Tuesday by following their example.

Send in your names!

GIFTS IN KIND.

A feature of the Albert Hall meeting was the number of gifts of jewellery given by those who could not give money. Among the valuables given were a beautiful opal ring from Miss Mordan (sold for £20), 2 wedding rings, 2 bracelets, 3 rings, and a small pearl brooch, the latter sent by a Brighton member whose daughter wished to go on the Deputation but could not afford the price of the fare. Some members denied themselves the joy of going to the Albert Hall meeting, and gave to the fund the money that it would have cost them. Some of these are still on sale, and can be viewed on application at 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

The Meeting on November 23 is being held at the Savoy Theatre, Strand, W.C., at 8 o'clock, and not at the Steinway Hall; and the Meeting on the following Thursday, November 30, will be held at 8 p.m. in the Kensington Town Hall, when the prisoners who received a week's sentence are expected to be present.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND.

November 13 to November 17.

Already acknowledged £105,574 18 1

Mrs. C. M. Board (diverted sub.) 0 10 0

Mrs. Harriett Heasman 0 2 0

Mrs. M. B. Anderson 0 0 7

Miss S. Hancock 0 2 6

Mrs. Adela Goyder 0 2 6

Miss L. Chapman 0 10 0

Miss F. B. Chance 10 0 0

Derby W.S.P.U. 3 3 0

Miss M. G. T. Alexander 1 1 0

Miss M. Gray Allen 5 0 0

Miss Ethel Birnstingl 3 0 0

Miss Annie Ball 5 0 0

Miss B. L. Andrews 2 0 0

Mrs. Devereux 2 0 0

Mrs. Doris J. Corbett 0 2 6

Profit on Eastbourne Meeting (per Mrs. S. Jones) 3 11 9

Miss Hilda H. Edgelow 1 0 0

"Anon." 50 0 0

Clacton W.S.P.U. 50 0 0

Miss L. S. Gibbs 5 0 0

Miss Beatrice Harraden 5 0 0

Miss Gertrude Harraden 5 0 0

Mrs. A. G. Badley 5 0 0

Miss Annette B. Bear 3 3 0

Miss H. E. Gannaway 1 1 0

Miss M. R. Keer 1 0 0

Miss Maude Fitzherbert 1 0 0

Mrs. M. Couchman 1 1 0

Miss M. Blanche Groswell 1 0 0

Lady Antrim 1 0 0

Miss Avery 1 0 0

Mrs. and Miss Dale 1 0 0

Mrs. M. Fowler 0 5 0

Mrs. A. Brinson 0 2 0

Miss J. Freese 0 2 6

Miss Ellinor Howard 0 2 0

Miss Hester Frood 0 5 0

Miss W. R. Davies 0 2 0

A Well-wisher (per Miss Douglas Smith) 0 1 0

Miss J. Wilson 0 10 0

"Sheffield Necklace" (sale of paste necklace) 2 2 0

Mrs. B. Sturkie 0 2 0

Miss A. Jessie Smith 1 1 0

Miss E. T. Wildo 0 1 0

Miss Ellen Tingard 0 2 6

Miss Marjorie Pratt 0 5 0

Anon. (per Miss Blyth) 0 3 6

Miss L. M. Rendel 0 3 6

"W. W. W." 1 0 0

Miss J. A. C. Milroy 0 18 9

Nurse Olivia Smith 1 0 0

Mrs. Bullock Workman 1 0 0

Miss Nora Vickerman 0 2 0

Nurse F. Low 0 2 0

Mrs. Saul Solomon 3 3 0

"Two French Antis" (per Dr. Ethel Smyth) 0 18 6

Dr. Ethel Smyth 0 10 0

Mrs. Pulsford 5 0 0

Alfred Wright, Esq. 15 0 0

Miss B. K. Lelacheur 5 0 0

Mrs. Ulrica Swan 10 0 0

Miss H. J. Pole 1 1 0

Extra on "V. F. W." at Victoria Pitch 0 15 0

Miss Edith Williams 0 2 6

Mrs. M. A. Tucker 0 5 0

Mrs. B. Spencer 1 1 0

Miss M. Troy 2 2 0

Mrs. Roy Rothwell 3 0 0

Miss Clara B. Mordan 100 0 0

Miss Clara Mordan (sale of opal and diamond ring) 20 0 0

Mr. and Mrs. Zangwill 50 0 0

Miss S. A. Turle 200 0 0

Miss Millicent Lawrence 15 0 0

Miss Ada C. G. Wright 2 0 0

Lady Constance Lytton 0 2 6

Miss A. Pike 0 5 0

Miss Mary Taylor 5 0 0

Miss H. S. Newman 0 5 0

Mrs. F. Jethro Robinson 1 0 0

Mrs. Rebecca M. Webb 5 0 0

Miss May Aldridge 0 2 0

Mrs. Hughes 1 0 0

Per Mrs. G. Allen 5 0 0

Profit on railway tickets, June 17 0 7 7

Mrs. Aldred 0 6 0

Mrs. Cobb 5 0 0

Mrs. Altman and Miss Rao 0 3 6

"G. A." 1 0 0

Per Miss E. Billing—

"Anon." 0 10 0

"Anon." per M. C. H. 0 10 0

Miss Yeoman 1 0 0

Miss O. Walton 5 0 0

Mrs. Rumby 0 2 0

Miss Palmer 0 2 0

Miss Rogers 0 2 0

Per Miss L. Burns—

Miss J. P. Begg 1 0 0

Mrs. Thomas Duncan 1 1 0

Miss Greenlees 1 1 0

"A Friend" 1 0 0

Miss Hutchinson 0 5 0

Miss J. W. Filshill 1 0 0

Miss H. A. Filshill 0 10 0

Mr. and Mrs. James Ivory 200 0 0

"A Working Woman" 0 10 0

Miss R. A. Anderson 0 6 0

"A Tip" 0 1 0

Dr. Grace R. Cadell 30 0 0

Miss J. L. Ferrier 0 10 0

Mrs. A. Gibbs, M.B., Ch.B. 1 0 0

"Anon." 0 2 6

"A Colinton Friend" 0 10 0

Miss Hudson's Lantern Lecture Proceeds 0 18 8

Mrs. Charlton 0 5 0

Shop Profits 13 9 0

Mrs. Meares 1 0 0

Mrs. Sinclair 0 1 0

Mrs. Waddel 0 10 0

Mrs. Watson 0 1 0

Miss Beattie Watson 0 1 0

Per Miss S. A. Flatman—

Miss N. Seymour Keay 0 1 1

Mrs. Waller 0 1 0

Per Miss I. C. Gorrie—

Miss Grieve 1 0 0

Miss I. C. Gorrie 2 0 0

Miss Nicholson 1 0 0

Miss Rhind 0 10 0

Per Mrs. E. G. G. Court 0 1 6

Dr. Campbell 0 2 6

Mrs. Snelling 0 0 6

Per Miss A. Kenney—

Mrs. C. M. Board 20 0 0

Per Mrs. Mansel—

Profit on literature 0 8 10

Profit on tea 0 5 0

Sale of kington, and shop sales 0 12 0

Mrs. Senior 0 2 6

Per Mrs. G. Mansel—

Coventry members 0 3 0

Share proceeds of meeting 5 18 4

National Union of Women's Suffrage (share of expenses)

Per Mrs. C. March 3 10 2

Mrs. Shaw 0 0 6

Miss Lewis 0 0 6

Mrs. May 0 2 9

Mrs. Harvey 0 0 6

Mrs. Hunt 0 1 0

Mrs. Applin 0 1 0

Miss Baldwin 0 1 0

Fraulein Freideberg 0 0 8

A Friend 0 1 10

Per Mrs. A. E. Miller—

Mrs. and Miss Parr 3 0 0

Mrs. N. P. Sharman 1 0 0

Mrs. Linnell 0 10 6

Mrs. Sykes 0 5 0

Mrs. Owen 0 2 6

Mrs. Parr 0 2 6

Per Mrs. M. Phillips—

Loan of "The Suffragette" 0 0 5

The Earl of Lytton (trav. exps.) 1 5 9

Miss Wildman 0 1 0

Miss Walker 0 1 0

Miss Wardell 0 1 0

Sale of coffee 0 7 9

Refreshments 0 10 6

Miss Foster 0 1 0

Mrs. Dodgson 0 1 0

Collected—

Miss Bentley 0 2 6

Mrs. Cowman 0 8 3

Miss Armitage 0 2 6

Mrs. Hay 0 1 0

Mrs. Eckstein 0 2 0

Miss Brady 0 2 6

Miss Fearnside 0 5 0

Mrs. Greaves 0 3 0

Miss Appleby 0 3 6

Miss Foster 0 2 0

Mrs. Dickinson 0 1 6

Mrs. Hyde 0 2 0

Mrs. Dods 0 2 0

— Irving, Esq. 0 10 0

Mrs. Briggs 0 2 6

"Anon." 0 9 10

Miss Farmer 0 6 0

Miss Wildman 0 6 6

Mrs. Swales 0 10 3

Mrs. Tingle 0 11 3

Mrs. Moor 0 7 6

Mrs. Titterton 0 11 0

Miss Verris 0 3 0

Mrs. Midgley 0 2 0

Miss Toadale 0 5 0

Miss Walker 0 12 0

Miss Ledman 0 7 6

Miss Winfield 0 11 0

Miss M. Phillips 0 15 0

Miss Pryor 0 3 0

Miss Lloyd 0 2 6

Mrs. Parker 0 2 0

Mrs. Malcolm 0 5 6

Per Mrs. P. W. Smith—

Mrs. Graham Bruce 5 0 0

Mrs. Foreman 0 1 6

Miss J. R. Benson 0 5 0

Library Profits 0 2 0

Jumble Sale 6 13 3

Mrs. Bethune Duncan 0 5 0

Anon. 0 5 0

Miss A. J. Macgregor 1 10 0

Miss A. L. McNeill 0 10 0

Miss R. Watson 1 0 0

Miss H. M. Logan 1 0 0

Miss M. Burn Murdoch 1 0 0

Miss M. Carr Lees 2 0 0

Mrs. Owens 0 0 6

Miss J. C. Methven 10 0 0

Mrs. Renny 0 1 0

Per Mrs. A. Williams—

Goods sold 0 1 0

Extra on postcards 0 0 8

"A. W." 0 0 6

Travelling expenses 0 2 8

Per Mrs. B. Wylie—

Mrs. Boyd (trav. exps.) 0 11 5

Mrs. White (do.) 0 10 0

Mrs. Russell (do.) 0 10 0

Mrs. Craig 0 10 0

Profit on literature 3 6 0

Use of telephone 0 1 7

A Friend (trans. sub.) 0 10 0

Friend from Abroad 0 2 0

Miss C. Finn 0 5 0

Miss Borrowman 0 0 6

Anon. 2 2 0

The Misses Hender-son 5 0 0

Miss Ellison Gibb 5 0 0

Anon. 1 0 0

Mrs. Harvey 0 7 0

Miss Janie Allan 100 0 0

Miss Jessie Soga 1 0 0

Mrs. Lang 0 2 6

Miss M. Leman 1 0 0

Miss Melville 1 0 0

Miss Thompson 0 10 0

Mrs. Manners 1 0 0

Mrs. Taylor 0 5 0

Bye-Election.

Dr. Adelino Roberts 2 0 0

Per Mrs. Graham—

Miss Borlison 0 10 0

Mrs. Goodliffe 0 10 0

Miss Napier 1 0 0

Per Mrs. A. Kenney—

Anon. 1 0

DEPUTATION RECEIVED AT DOWNING STREET.

On six separate occasions of crisis in the past the Women's Social and Political Union have requested an interview with Mr. Asquith as Prime Minister, and have been invariably refused. For the first time on Friday last the deputation was received. Mr. Lloyd George was present in addition to the Prime Minister, and nine Woman Suffrage societies in all were represented. Mrs. Fawcett briefly introduced the deputation, and called on Miss Christabel Pankhurst to speak.

MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

We are here to-day to discuss the practical question: how Woman Suffrage can be carried into effect at the earliest possible moment. We wish to say that in our opinion the non-party solution, towards which we have been unitedly working, has now been rendered out of the question. It would be most dangerous to rely upon a non-party settlement henceforth. The reason why we think it no longer feasible is, in the first place, the attack made upon the Conciliation Bill by one of two gentlemen whom we are addressing this morning. This attack has had the effect of creating division and dissension amongst various members of the House of Commons who believe in Woman Suffrage, and has destroyed the non-party compromise upon which the Conciliation Bill was based. Secondly, there is the announcement of the intention of the Government to introduce a Manhood Suffrage Bill, and we think that this has finally put an end to any possibility of a non-party settlement. The result of this announcement has been to accentuate still further the anti-suffrage policy of the Government, and it has also had the further disadvantage, from our point of view, of complicating the issue of Woman Suffrage with Universal Suffrage. Henceforth these two questions are inextricably blended, and the result is to alienate Unionist supporters whose alliance is essential if we are to secure a non-party majority. They are to all-intents and purposes lost to our cause, not because they have lost faith in Woman Suffrage, but because of the complication of the issue resulting from the announcement of Manhood Suffrage; that is to say, Woman Suffrage has become a party question. The Government have made it so. And we are here to-day to demand that the Government shall make it a party measure. (Hear, hear.) They have undertaken the responsibility, as a Government, of introducing a party element into the question, and now we say: Nothing can satisfy us unless it is made a party measure. (Hear, hear.) Further, we think that the Conciliation Bill is no longer applicable to the circumstances of the case. It was all very well so long as men had Household Suffrage. Now that they are going to have Manhood Suffrage, you cannot expect us to be satisfied with a mere Household Suffrage for women. I am sure that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will be the first to agree in this. In his opinion the Conciliation Bill was too undemocratic and too limited even when we had Household Suffrage accepted for men. Of course, it is too undemocratic now when all men are to have the vote; it is too narrow, at any rate, for the Women's Social and Political Union—(hear, hear)—although certain parties who objected to it are now much more friendly disposed to it than they were originally. Now that Manhood Suffrage is to be introduced, we demand Woman Suffrage as a proper complement to that measure. (Hear, hear.) We demand that and nothing less (Hear, hear.) We refuse to accept a basis narrower than that, because it will involve women being placed in an inferior position, and that we will never recognise. We think Womanhood Suffrage can be carried if it has behind it party pressure, which only the Government can exert. That is what we ask.

We can't get it carried as an unofficial proposition. We must have Government pressure. You can no more obtain Womanhood Suffrage, except as a party measure, than you can get the Insurance Bill or Home Rule passed. (Hear, hear.) It has been remarked to us that our object may be attained with the aid of successive amendments, and if Womanhood Suffrage be rejected, then other amendments will be introduced ostensibly to effect the same object. We object to that suggestion entirely. We think it is inviting us to accept less than we deserve. We claim nothing short of Women's Suffrage, carried by the Government as a Government measure. (Hear, hear.) It has been remarked that certain members of the Cabinet are prepared to support and advocate Womanhood Suffrage in the country, but naturally their advocacy would be neutralised by anti-Suffrage

Ministers. Some members of the Cabinet might advocate Women's Suffrage and might address meetings in its favour, but anti-Suffrage Ministers would be equally free to speak against it. These differences between gentlemen of the Cabinet ought to be settled in the privacy of the Cabinet Council, and we are asking the Government to go forward with a united policy. It is a perfect absurdity to expect us to rely upon the help of Cabinet Ministers acting privately. Shepherds without their crooks would absolutely fail to discipline their flocks.

Mr. Asquith: Not only without their crooks, but without their "whips."

Miss Pankhurst: Aye, and their "whips" are even more important than their crooks. (Laughter.) The "whips" are essential. Individual members must know that they have got to turn up, because for us absentee members are a greater problem, or almost as great a problem, as those members who are opposed to Woman Suffrage. We feel sure that the Prime Minister's objections to Woman Suffrage are not so great now as they were at one time.

Mr. Asquith: I do not know why you suspect it. (Laughter.)

Miss Pankhurst: We feel that men in high office cannot give the same latitude to their personal feelings and views as the private member can. But this is a great public question, and must be treated as a great public question. We think our friends have a majority in the Cabinet, and we call upon them to assert themselves. We have less quarrel with the anti-Suffrage members

contentedly under a system of outlawry of their sex. (Hear, hear.) We are in the twentieth century, and we must behave as people of the twentieth century. Let me, then, urge upon you to deal as fairly by us as by the men of the country. We, too, are citizens; we, too, want to work for the good of the country. You can give us the power.

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence said: The Women's Social and Political Union desire to say that they consider the announcement recently made on behalf of the Government that they will introduce a manhood suffrage Bill as a contravention of the spirit of the pledge which you, Mr. Asquith, gave with regard to the Conciliation Bill. We regard it also as a declaration of hostility to the women's franchise agitation. We feel that the announcement of Manhood Suffrage is an insult to the women of the country, and that the suggestion that the women should be dealt with by an amendment is an insult to our political intelligence. Let me put before you a parallel from the point of view of the Government. For many years there has been a great agitation in Ireland for Home Rule. That agitation has brought the general question of local self-government very prominently before the minds of the public in connection with Ireland. Suppose, now, that instead of announcing the intention of the Government to introduce a Home Rule Bill for Ireland, you had suggested that a Bill should be brought in giving Home Rule to Scotland, to England, and to Wales, leaving Irish affairs under the control of

manually support the demand made by the first speaker that the Government abandon this manhood suffrage measure and introduce instead a Bill to give equal franchise rights to men and to women in 1912, and that the Government undertake to stand or fall by the provisions for Votes for Women as by the provisions for votes for men. Failing this assurance, the Women's Social and Political Union will be driven to take up the challenge of hostility which you have laid down in your recent announcement.

THE CONSERVATIVE POSITION.

Lady Selborne said they were all agreed in the object arrived at, that women should have votes on the same terms as men, but when differences arose they were ready to accept a small measure as an instalment. Conservatives were moderate people, and were inclined to take moderate views. They felt that a step in advance was a distinct gain, but it must be a real step, however small. They earnestly pressed forward the view that the week's facilities promised by the Prime Minister was a more valuable concession than any other given up to the present time. The Conciliation Bill, in their opinion, was the only measure which it was possible to pass through the House.

Mr. Asquith: The pledge, of course, was given on terms that the title of the Bill should be so framed that it could be changed into any shape the House of Commons approved.

Lady Selborne: That we approve. If the Government incorporated women's suffrage in the Reform Bill we would recognise that the Government earnestly desired to meet the women's desires, but there seems no prospect of that. As it is we hope Ministers will forgive us if we regard any offer of allowing amendments with some suspicion. Any wide measure of women's suffrage would be resisted by Conservatives and we believe by a considerable number of Liberals.

Mr. Asquith: You do not suppose, do you, that if the Conciliation Bill is reintroduced it won't be the subject of amendment on the part of the supporters of women's suffrage on a more extended basis?

Lady Selborne: I think it will be the subject of amendment.

Mr. Asquith: And exactly the same result may be produced by amendments of the Conciliation Bill, that might be produced by amendment to the Manhood Suffrage Bill.

Lady Selborne: It might very likely, and perhaps from a Conservative point of view we should regret it.

Mr. Asquith: If amendments are carried in the one case they may be carried in the other.

Lady Selborne: Yes, but we prefer the promise of a week's consideration.

Mr. Asquith: I am only trying to point out that the same result may be obtained whichever road you pursue.

Lady Betty Balfour said that in their opinion it was absolutely intolerable that the franchise should be touched in any degree until sex disability had been removed. They believed the Conciliation Bill would finally remove that disability and that after it no Government, from whatever side of the House it might be formed, would be able to introduce any franchise reform intended to extend men's franchise without including women as well. On this account they still asked for the Conciliation Bill before any franchise reform of any kind was introduced.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

Mrs. Despard said that she represented one of the militant societies, and they were agitating for their rights even as the men of Great Britain agitated in the past. They agitated for the right of petition, but they were not heard, and so they refused their submission to a Government which was carried on without their consent. They had done this by tax resistance—she herself had been sold up three times—and through the census resistance. They had come to the point when they must refuse to obey laws in the working of which they had no part. The demand of the Women's Freedom League was that Parliamentary franchise should be given to them on exactly the same terms as to men. She had lived amongst and knew women workers, and she claimed that those who lived in the country ought to have some say as to the conditions of work. The rights of children, too, illegitimate as well as legitimate, would be more adequately looked after if women had the Parliamentary means of making their grievances known and having them remedied. It was her firm conviction that this latest insult would have the effect not only of drawing together all suffrage societies but also of bringing to them many women who were not with them now.

Mrs. How Martyn said that the Prime Minister's proposal to take their demand for votes for women and convert it into manhood suffrage struck them as being not only illiberal but class legislation of the worst kind. So far as women were concerned every constituency in the country to-day was as rotten as the worst of the rotten boroughs which the mass of men felt to be so intolerable at the beginning of last century and which the Act of 1832 was designed to sweep away. To any Government which denied women political freedom they could only offer the most uncompromising hostility. The request she made on behalf of the



[Newspaper Illustrations, Ltd.]
Lady Constance Lytton, Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, L.L.B., about to leave Clements Inn for 10, Downing Street, on Friday. The other representatives of the W.S.P.U. were Mrs. Tuke and Miss Elizabeth Robins.

of the Cabinet than with the Suffrage members, because we feel they have been lamentably weak. But if, as we believe, a majority exists, we call upon them to exert themselves in the Cabinet, and give to us that measure which will mean for us all "Peace and goodwill." All women are citizens, although their existence as such is not technically recognised. We feel that we have the same moral claim upon you gentlemen, as if we were enfranchised. Morally we are voters, and, believing that you should deal precisely with us as with men, we ask that you should bring forward in the next session of Parliament a measure—and carry it through—giving equal voting rights to men and women. (Hear, hear.) We do not want to quarrel about the terms of granting the franchise to either sex so long as both sexes are treated precisely equal. It is not our business to sweep away any distinction save that of sex. We therefore ask you to give to us the same justice precisely that you are prepared to give to the men. Let me put into three sentences the demand we make:—(1) Let the Government abandon the Manhood Suffrage Bill and introduce instead a measure conferring precisely equal franchise rights upon men and women; (2) that the measure be carried through in the next session of Parliament, in order that the protection of the Parliament Act shall be secured (we feel that we are as much entitled to the protection of the Parliament Act as Mr. Redmond is); (3) that the Government stake their existence upon the Bill as a whole and undertake to stand or fall by it, as they would on either the Insurance Bill or Home Rule. (Hear, hear.) These gentlemen, are our terms. We hope they will be as acceptable to you as to us. You cannot expect women at this time of the day to continue

the Imperial Parliament. Suppose, further, you had said that the question of Ireland could be dealt with in an amendment to that Bill. How would the Irish people have accepted that suggestion? What would be the result of such a policy as that? You know quite well that the Irish people would have told you that you were taking steps to introduce a condition of civil war into Ireland. Now just as there has been a great agitation for Home Rule for many years in Ireland, so there has been a great agitation for Women's Suffrage in this country for many years. Since the Liberal party took office there has been no franchise agitation whatever except the agitation for Votes for Women. (Cheers.) Demonstrations, monster processions, petitions from great municipal councils, thousands of meetings and thousands of resolutions bear evidence to the fact that a greater Constitutional agitation has been carried on for Woman Suffrage than has ever been carried on in connection with any franchise agitation in this country. (Cheers.) Now, sir, your answer to this great franchise agitation for Votes for Women is manhood suffrage—more votes for men. There can only be one outcome of such a declaration as that or of such a policy. You must not suppose that because politicians have been able to trick women out of their political rights for forty years that they will be able to do so now. (Cheers.) We have been deceived and betrayed again and again, but the hard school of experience has taught us that in the political world nothing can be gained except by hard fighting, and that this applies with special force to the voteless. The Women's Social and Political Union unani-

Women's Freedom League was that the Government should make women's suffrage on equal terms with men an integral part of the Reform Bill, and carry it into law next session, and in that they hoped they would have the help of Mr. Lloyd George.

THE NATIONAL UNION.

Mrs. Fawcett, speaking on behalf of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, said that they had now been working for forty-four years for woman suffrage, and that the Union now included over 300 societies. Their work was solely on constitutional lines. They had been trying to educate the public to believe in the principle of political equality between the men and women. She claimed that they had achieved a large degree of success. Ever since 1886 there had been a majority in the House of Commons for women's suffrage. They had passed no fewer than seven women's suffrage Bills through the second reading, latterly by immense majorities. In the two recent bye-elections in Yorks and Lancs, both three-cornered fights, every one of the candidates pledged himself up to the eyes in favour of women's suffrage. They were told it was simply no use to come forward as Parliamentary candidates unless they were prepared to support women's suffrage. The reply of the Government to the agitation of women was a proposal to give more voting power to men. The Government must not be surprised that this had caused an immense amount of exasperation. If it did bring about a repetition of those things which she deplored she did not know any conduct more calculated to bring that unfortunate result. (Cheers.) The one bright spot was the promise made by the Prime Minister to give time next session for the Conciliation Bill. They looked upon that promise as of the utmost value, and they could not release their hold upon it until they had actually secured something better. They had not made a fetish of the Conciliation Bill. They supported it simply because they believed it was a Bill that could pass. If, however, some other suffrage proposal were brought before the House of Commons they would not shrink from supporting it, and they would support it with enthusiasm. They asked very earnestly that some measure of franchise of women should be incorporated in the Government Bill. There were four questions which she wished to put to the Prime Minister: (1) Is it the intention of the Government that the Reform Bill shall go through all its stages in 1912? (2) Will the Bill be drafted in such a manner as to admit of any amendments introducing women's suffrage on terms other than adult suffrage. She was not speaking against adult suffrage, because they claimed the suffrage on the same terms as men, but she believed adult suffrage was an absolutely impractical solution of the problem. She believed there was no demand for it at all in the country, and it was to the country after all that Governments and Parliaments must look for support. Therefore, she asked that the Bill should be so drafted as to admit of amendment on terms something short of adult suffrage. She wished to ask thirdly whether, if such an amendment should pass the House of Commons, the Government would undertake not to oppose it. She also asked, fourthly, whether if such an amendment were carried the Government would regard it as an integral part of the Bill and defend it in its future stages. It was important if a women's suffrage amendment were carried that the Government should regard it as an integral part of the Bill.

Mrs. Swanwick said that they regarded it as unstatesmanlike and not in accordance with Liberal principles to introduce a great Bill for manhood suffrage and not admit women on any terms. The Government had projected a great Bill to enfranchise citizens, and the Prime Minister as head of the Government proposed not to include a single woman in it. It was that denial of citizenship which was at the root of their feeling in the matter. She felt that the Government would be in a very weak position before the country when they came to defend this Bill. This question would break up the Liberal party unless the party tackled it boldly and bravely.

OTHER SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

Miss Gore Booth said she wanted to say on behalf of the working women, more especially in the North of England, that it was no use the Government expressing surprise at the disappointment and bitterness caused by the announcement of the Manhood Suffrage Bill. In the North the argument was not between suffrage and anti-suffrage. There the difference was between people who would go for the Conciliation Bill and those who thought they ought to go for the whole thing. The people who said they ought to go for the Conciliation Bill also said, "Don't you be taken in by the Adult Suffrage Bill. All they really mean is manhood suffrage." Nobody believed it in Manchester, because it was quite inconceivable there. Working women did not grudge other people having votes. They quite understood that men wanted votes, too. She would pay this tribute to the men, that she was perfectly sure that the Conciliation Bill, with all its imperfections, would please them a great deal better than a Manhood Suffrage Bill without any women in it.

Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett said she was desired by the actresses to say that they based their claim on their dual capacity of

wage earners and human beings. They were engaged all over Great Britain in pursuit of a living, and they demanded that they should be given human rights. They asked Mr. Asquith as captain of the ship of State to take them on board. She had no faith in the Conciliation Bill, because all the shine had been taken out of it. They wished to be on terms of peace with the Government, and they felt it very hard that they should be shadowed by police and detectives. They came to the Government with a proposal that they should be taken into the Bill. They felt that nothing but the Government could give them this thing, and therefore they asked the Government to incorporate them in the Bill. They felt, as Abraham Lincoln once said, that those who denied freedom to others did not deserve it themselves.

Mrs. Alison Garland said she was present as a Liberal because all the members of the Women's Forward Suffrage Union belonged to the Liberal Party. She did not agree with some of the other speakers in thinking that this was a move on the part of the Government to trick them. Nor did she ask the Government to go back from their promise to bring in a Manhood Suffrage Bill. They would never ask any Prime Minister to go back. They asked him to go forward and include women in the movement. Mr. Lloyd George, if he would introduce the amendment himself, would be quite able to carry this great thing through, and she hoped the Prime Minister, if he could not see his way to go with them, would allow them fair treatment and let it be carried over his head.

Miss Hoey said the women in Ireland differed from those in England, because since the days of the Union Irish women had been expected by the Irish people to help the Home Rule movement as speakers, writers, and organisers. In the United Irish League women could be presidents of every branch. At the last election she herself organised eighty speakers for Liberal meetings, so that the Irish Party regarded women as in every way equal in the fight for Irish liberty. Again, in the Irish Councils Bill the Irish franchise was to be given to women, and Mr. Birrell, speaking in the House of Commons, said he did so advisedly because after having thoroughly considered the matter he thought it was due to Irish women. That Bill was thrown out because it was not democratic enough.

Mr. Asquith: It was dropped.

Miss Hoey said it was dropped because a convention in Ireland rejected it. When the Irish Home Rule Bill was introduced—if Mr. Redmond pursued the same course of submitting it to a convention—Irish women would have the right to vote upon the Bill. Therefore they would be able to vote as to whether the Bill should be accepted, and surely it could not be suggested that if they could vote for that they could not vote for the men who would carry out the provisions of the Bill. When last year Mr. Joseph Devlin took part in the great meeting against sweated industries in that country, he said the only way to get reforms for the sweated women was for them to send their own representatives to Parliament, who would be obliged to consider women. She submitted, on behalf of her society, that a clause giving women the vote should be introduced into the Irish Home Rule Bill.

Mrs. Falconer said that, speaking for Scotland, the women there had worked loyally and hard for the Liberal Party. As representing Liberal women she expressed to the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer their strong desire that the enfranchisement of women should be an integral part of the Government Bill. She proceeded to emphasise the need of women to have votes for the sake of the children.

Miss Annie Kenney said: I should like to ask one question. You have not told us if it is proposed to take advantage of the Parliament Act for manhood suffrage, or if you are simply going to introduce it next year and not go further. If the Prime Minister is not going to take advantage of the Parliament Act could he not introduce a Bill quite as well in 1913 and leave the field open to us for the Conciliation Bill? The Conciliation Bill will be absolutely overshadowed by manhood suffrage. Will he leave it open to us to get full advantage of the Parliament Act? If not it will be impossible for us to consider he has kept his promise in the spirit as well as in the letter.

MR. ASQUITH'S REPLY.

Mr. Asquith said he was very pleased to have had the opportunity (with his friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer), which the various societies had so kindly afforded, of meeting and listening to the views of that very large and influential deputation.

You will not expect me (continued the Prime Minister), and I do not even know that it would be relevant to the purpose which has brought you here, to enter into any controversial discussion on the merits or demerits of Woman Suffrage. I would only like to say that it is impossible to listen to such speeches as we have heard to-day—if I might single out one from the whole number as perhaps the one most impressive, the speech of Mrs. Despard—it is impossible to listen to such speeches from ladies representing so many different classes, interests, and areas in this great movement, without realising, as I believe we all do realise, the strength and the intensity of the feeling which prevails upon this subject. And I ask you to believe, without, as I say, going into any controversial matter, that those who are unable to support the movement are not actuated in abstaining from doing so by anything in the nature of disparagement of the dignity or functions of your sex. But that is not the question immediately before

us. The question is what is the proper attitude for the Government to pursue in the situation in which we find ourselves. I think there is a good deal of misapprehension, of which I seem to detect some traces in the speeches made to-day, as to the course which the Government are actually taking. There is an idea that there has been a new departure of some sort in the announcement I made to a deputation a week or two ago, and that it constituted a change of policy, or at least of attitude, on the part of the Government. Nothing can be farther from the truth, as I shall proceed to demonstrate.

Let me first say this: I have for a long time past acknowledged, as I think all intelligent politicians acknowledge, that this question of Woman Suffrage from a tactical and Parliamentary point of view was standing on a footing entirely its own. It cuts athwart and overrides the ordinary distinctions of party. I, myself, much as you may deplore it, have never been able to see my way to support Woman Suffrage, because I have never been able to persuade myself that the change would be for the good of the State. That is an opinion I share with some of my colleagues, but the great majority of them, I freely acknowledge, take a different view. They are in favour of the principle of the extension of the suffrage to women, although I dare say they are not agreed precisely (as apparently all here are not agreed) as to precisely the form of qualification when the suffrage is granted.

Precisely the same state of things exists in the party opposite. Look at the Front Bench of the Opposition, and you will find it is as much divided as the Ministerial Bench, and yet I believe it is true, as Mrs. Fawcett has said, that ever since 1886, certainly for the last twenty years, in all the various Houses of Commons that have been elected, you have been able to get a majority, at any rate, for the second reading of the Woman Suffrage Bill, so that taking all parties together, there is a majority in favour of the principle.

That, I say, puts the question in a category entirely its own. It makes it a hardship that neither party can take it up officially owing to the division of opinion among the party leaders. Although it is quite one thing to be ready to bow to, or acquiesce in, the considered judgment of the House of Commons, it is quite another thing to make yourself responsible for initiating or being the author of a Bill instituting a great political change about the expediency of which you are not convinced. That is a distinction which I hope everyone will bear in mind and acknowledge to be reasonable and just, and it has always seemed to me to be one which the honest politician should regulate his conduct by.

It is a great hardship for promoters of Woman Suffrage that, while they have a majority in the House in favour of the principle, the very fact that neither party has been in the position to become the official sponsors of any particular measure embodying that principle has meant that the principle has never got beyond a second reading.

AS IN 1908.

When I assumed my present office, which is now more than three and a half years ago, the matter was brought before me by a representative deputation of members of the House of Commons. I should like to read what I said on that occasion, because it completely disposes of the notion that there is anything new of any sort or kind in the course which the Government has recently announced. I am quoting from the *Times* report of what I said on May 20, 1908. It says:—

"He regarded it as a duty, and indeed a binding obligation, on the Government, that before this Parliament came to an end they should submit a really effective scheme for reform of our electoral system. The present state of the law with its artificialities, its unreasonable delays in obtaining the qualification for the franchise, its indefensible classification of categories of voters, and, above all, the power of double-voting which was at present conferred upon the class that needed it least—all this urgently demanded reform."

I went on to say that no Liberal Government or Liberal House of Commons would be performing its duty if it did not make every effort to get rid of such a system as I described, and that was the Government's intention. The intention was to introduce a Bill for simple residential qualification, and abolishing artificial categories, before the close of Parliament.

I went on to say that this being the Government's intention it would clearly be within the competence of those present to introduce by amendments or extensions the objects they desired. The Government, as a Government, could hardly resist such amendments, for the simple and sufficient reason that probably two-thirds of the members of the Ministry were in favour. If it were approved of by the House of Commons it could not be any part of the duty of the Government to oppose such amendments, and therefore it must be left to the decision of the House. Mr. Leif Jones asked me if the Bill would be drafted on sufficiently broad lines to admit of amendments dealing with woman suffrage, and I replied it would be a breach of the understanding if the Bill were not drawn on lines wide enough to admit this. I said in May, 1908, precisely the same thing I said a week ago. There has been no change of front or policy of any sort or kind in regard to that matter on the part of the Government.

Let us see why our intention was frustrated. We did not introduce the Bill because, as you know, in consequence of the rejection of the Budget, that Parliament was prematurely dissolved, and a new Parliament was elected which was entirely occupied with the constitutional question. The first ses-

sion of this Parliament was similarly taken up. In the meantime the question of the Conciliation Bill arose. It was introduced, and the Government were asked to give facilities for it. We felt, as for the time being political exigencies prevented us from going on immediately with our projected scheme of electoral reform, that was a reasonable request, provided—and we made that a condition—that the title of the Bill was so framed that its details and its substantial provisions might be amended or extended to whatever degree the majority of the House of Commons thought proper.

That was the promise given, and it has never been withdrawn. By that promise I am quite prepared and intend to abide—(hear, hear)—and the very suggestion is almost an insult that the Government, which made a promise of that kind, was going to withdraw under the stress of new political exigencies of any sort or kind.

But let me point out that the promise so made clearly contemplated that that Bill might be moulded by the House of Commons in accordance with the opinions of the majority for the time being. The Commons might have said: "We will transform this"—if I might use an expression which will be familiar to you—"into the Dickenson Bill"—the Bill which gave the suffrage to married women—or, "We will transform this into an Adult Suffrage Bill." There was nothing to prevent their doing so. Whatever form of qualification the majority of the House of Commons thought best to adopt, conceding, of course, that distinction of sex was not to be a disqualification, that form of suffrage they would, under our promise, have been able to introduce into the Bill.

What the Government say, and what I say again, is: "We hold our hands; we don't interfere as a Government. We are at liberty to vote one way or the other." I know very well how a majority of my colleagues would vote, and I think I know how I should vote myself, but we are at liberty to vote one way or the other. We leave it to the House, and in whatever form the House chooses to mould the qualification, to that form we will give the facilities promised. Supposing there had been no question whatever of the introduction of what I will call a general Reform Bill in the next Session, you would have been in precisely the same position with regard to the Conciliation Bill as you would be when this Reform Bill was introduced. (Cries of "No.") But forgive me for saying so, you cannot point out to me any distinction of any sort or kind from the Parliamentary point of view between the two cases. I don't withdraw in any degree the promise given the promoters of the Conciliation Bill if they choose to claim the performance of them.

That brings me to say a word about the questions put by Mrs. Fawcett: "Is it the intention of the Government that the Reform Bill shall go through all its stages in 1912?" Certainly, it is our intention. We hope to carry it through in that year. "Will the Bill be drafted in such a way as to admit of any amendments introducing women on other terms than men?" Certainly. "Will the Government undertake not to oppose such amendments?" Certainly. The Government as a Government is prepared to leave the matter to the House of Commons. "Will the Government regard any amendment enfranchising women which is carried as an integral part of the Bill and defend it in all its stages?" Certainly. Miss Pankhurst, in a very able speech, used one or two rather strong expressions—to which, of course, I do not take any exception.

Miss Pankhurst: I am afraid I can't withdraw them.

The Prime Minister: No, it is the last thing I should expect you to do. She talked of terms of peace, presenting, I must say, a pistol in one hand and a dagger in the other, at the Government. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, too, used some expression about being tricked and betrayed. Where does the trick come in? I am pointing out to you that the position of the Government to-day is perfectly consistent, and exactly the same as it has been all through. I quite understand Miss Pankhurst's position. She says it is our duty ourselves to introduce a Bill conferring the franchise on women on the same terms as men. (Hear, hear.) I quite understand that, and it is an intelligible position, but we have never promised to do anything of the kind. If you ask why we won't do it, I tell you once more. I am the head of the Government, and I am not going to make myself responsible for the introduction of a measure which I do not conscientiously believe to be demanded in the interests of the country.

Miss Pankhurst: Then you can go, and we will get another head.

Mr. Asquith: I may go if you like. If you can get rid of me, well and good. Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett said she would like to ask a question, but Mr. Asquith said: Now, I listened patiently to you, and I ask you to do the same with me. I don't see how the head of any Government can possibly be expected, with colleagues as I have thinking the same as myself, to introduce a measure on which his Cabinet and party are divided. It is totally different, and I think perfectly consistent with the self-respect and best traditions of our public life in relation to a question which divides parties, that not only the head of the Government, but the Government itself, should say that if the House of Commons on its responsibility is prepared to transform or extend a measure which we are agreed in thinking necessary—a measure for the franchise as regards men—to confer the franchise on women on such terms as they think fit, we shall not only acquiesce in the proposal, but make ourselves responsible for carrying it into law. Miss Pankhurst thinks we should take the thing up and become ourselves

the protagonists and official sponsors of equality between the sexes in regard to franchise. I understand and respect that point of view, but it is one the Government have consistently disclaimed from the first. It is quite inconsistent with the convictions some of us conscientiously hold, and we have never given the idea that such was our intention and purpose. We are prepared both in the letter and the spirit to carry out the whole of the pledge we have given to you, and the remedy lies entirely in your hands.

The Government have nothing to do with it; they stand by and are neutral. The remedy lies in your own hands, and if you could persuade a majority of the members in the present House of Commons in the next session either in regard to the Conciliation Bill or in regard to the Reform Bill—for you shall certainly have an opportunity either in regard to one or the other—to introduce into that Bill the qualifications for the suffrage for women, if the House of Commons is prepared to assent to them, I give you my assurance on behalf of the Government that they will accept the decision then come to, and will accept the measure and give facilities for it. That ought to satisfy you.

Miss Pankhurst: We are not satisfied.

Mr. Asquith: No, I don't expect to satisfy you.

Miss Pankhurst: You would not satisfy Mr. Redmond that way.

Mr. Asquith: I do not know. I am quite prepared to put it to Mr. Redmond. At any rate, I think it ought to satisfy those who say the Government in this matter should behave fairly and reasonably, if divided between themselves. If it satisfies these reasonable demands, that is all I hope to do in a matter of this kind.

Miss Annie Kenney asked if the Manhood Suffrage Bill was going to be introduced before the Conciliation Bill.

Mr. Asquith: I would not like to say definitely, but it won't prejudice you in any way.

Miss Kenney: If the Reform Bill is introduced before the Conciliation Bill it means that another eleven million men will be given the vote and the women will have to take their chance with a private Member's Bill.

Mr. Asquith: It does not mean anything of the kind.

Miss Kenney: Is the Conciliation Bill going to have priority?

Mr. Asquith: I cannot say anything as to priority when the two measures will be introduced. It does not make any difference to your position.

Miss Kenney: It makes all the difference. Mr. Asquith: Forgive me. I understand more about Parliamentary procedure than you do. It does not make the least difference in the world. You will have full opportunity of introducing, debating, and carrying your amendments, and the Government will become responsible for them when they are carried.

Miss Hoey: Will the women of Ireland be enfranchised under the Home Rule Bill?

Mr. Asquith: That is a new point. We had better have a separate talk about that.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

You have come here to-day to elicit the opinion and the decision of the Government with regard to the women's question, more especially in reference to the announcement made last week by the Prime Minister. The intentions of the Government have been already announced by the head of the Government, and it would be impertinence on my part to add anything on that head. The Prime Minister having reiterated his statement that as far as his colleagues are concerned this is a perfectly open question, I shall take the first opportunity of setting forth my views in reference to this matter.

The only thing I would say now is this—and I say it after twenty-one years' experience of Parliament—don't you commit yourselves too readily to the statement that this is a trick upon Woman Suffrage. If you find next year as a result of this "trick" that several millions of women have been added in a Bill to the franchise, that this Bill has been sent to the House of Lords by the Government, and that the Government stand by that Bill, whatever the Lords do, then those who have committed themselves to that ill-conditioned suggestion will look very foolish. (Applause, and Miss Pankhurst: "We shall not mind that as long as we can get the vote," and laughter.)

Mrs. Fawcett expressed the thanks of the deputation, and the proceedings closed.

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE TIMES.

The National Union [of Women's Suffrage Societies] regards the Prime Minister's statement as a "distinct advance in the political situation," and considers it now "almost certain" that the enfranchisement of women will be realised next year either by amendment to the Reform Bill or by the Conciliation Bill. The Women's Liberal Federation, which had a separate interview with Mr. Lloyd George at his house, is also perfectly satisfied. On the other hand—and here comes the discord—the Women's Social and Political Union is equally or more dissatisfied. These ladies also have issued a statement, pointing out that the Government refuse to take up their cause, but leave them to the opportunity afforded by a private member's amendment. They regard this decision as one of direct hostility, because a private member's amendment will have no chance of success, and a non-party solution of the question is rendered impossible by

the introduction of the Government measure. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who is one of the leading spirits in this organisation, feared a trick on the part of the Government, and did not hesitate to tell Mr. Asquith as much to his face. After the interview she was evidently convinced that the trick has been, or is going to be, played. We confess to some difficulty in gathering with any certainty what the Government's real intentions are, and experience warns us against interpreting Mr. Asquith's words in their plain and obvious sense. Those alone are sufficient reasons for thinking that the National Union has rushed somewhat hastily to a sanguine conclusion; but, apart from this, the Social and Political Union's diagnosis of the situation is surely the more correct. Woman Suffrage is not a party question; it cuts across the regular party lines, as Mr. Asquith said; and the support which has enabled it repeatedly to secure a majority in the House of Commons is drawn from all sides. But the Government propose to bring in a Reform Bill, which will be an out-and-out party measure. If they included Woman Suffrage in the Bill it might perhaps command the whole forces at the back of the Government; but they are not going to do that. They are going to let it be included as an amendment if the House chooses to have it. But in order to secure its adoption as a non-party free amendment, support would be required from the Opposition, which would be expecting them to treat a party measure as a non-party one. It would fall between two stools. Conservative supporters would be alienated and no pressure would be put on the Ministerial side to make up for them. If, on the other hand, the matter is left, which the National Union suggests as an alternative, to be dealt with in the form of the Conciliation Bill, it will not have the smallest chance of serious consideration. The way will be blocked by the Reform Bill.

It is, therefore, idle to pretend that the sudden appearance of the latter upon the horizon has not altered the situation. The prospects of the Conciliation Bill looked at least more favourable than those of any previous measure for enfranchising women, so far as Parliamentary support goes. We do not see how sufficient time could have been devoted to it in a Session loaded with Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment, not to mention anything else; but a Reform Bill of the most sweeping character upon the top of them puts it utterly out of the question. At the same time the agreement among the suffrage societies which the Bill represented, and from which it derived its name, has gone too, as the result of yesterday's interview proves. They would not be able to agree in the same way on an amendment to the Reform Bill, because it would open up a chance of demanding a more extended franchise than the moderate societies desire. From our own point of view, which is opposed to Woman Suffrage altogether, we cannot pretend to regret the turn that events have taken; but we must admit that the Suffragists have some reason to complain of their treatment. Both Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George yesterday resented the imputation of having played a trick. Mr. Asquith takes great pride in his consistency, and is never so ponderous as when he is defending it. Yesterday he put the case in his best manner. His recent announcement of a Reform Bill with or without manhood suffrage was nothing new. Everybody ought to have been prepared for it. Why, in 1908 he distinctly declared that the Government regarded it as a sacred duty to bring forward just such a measure before that Parliament came to an end. True, they did not carry out that binding obligation, and not a word has been said about it from that day to this; but that is not his fault. It was all the doing of the House of Lords. Now he merely proposes to fulfil that promise and also his promise about giving facilities for the Conciliation Bill. He is ready to keep both, and has not gone back on his word for a moment. Only it so happens that they are, in fact, incompatible; the realisation of both is impossible. He, of course, is not responsible.

THE MORNING POST.

Their indignation knows no bounds, and yesterday, without any mincing of words, they accused the Government of trickery. Nor has the Government any valid defence. Despite Mr. Asquith's quotations from the myriad pledges of his previous speeches, it is manifest that this sudden resolve for a Manhood Suffrage Bill next session was a device to extricate the Government from the awkward situation that might have been created by a discussion on the Conciliation Bill. By common practice a Franchise Bill ought to be followed by a dissolution, and, therefore, would not under ordinary circumstances be introduced until the last session of Parliament. As Mrs. Pethick Lawrence truly said, there had not been in the country any sign of an agitation for Manhood Suffrage, and the Government Bill is not the reply to any expressed demand on the part of the electors. That fact affords a strong argument against the action of Ministers in forcing a wide change in the franchise during the suspension of the Constitution. But does it justify the women's outcry? Not at all. What is the trick? It is simply a Parliamentary manoeuvre by which the true meaning of Woman Suffrage shall be apparent to the House of Commons and to the country. The real effect of the Government's action is to strip off the ingenious coverings which in the Conciliation Bill masked the effect of Woman Suffrage. The grant of votes to women on the same terms as they are given to men must mean that sooner or later the majority of the electorate would be women. The Conciliation Bill concealed this fact; the Manhood Suffrage Bill will reveal it.

ALBERT HALL, NOVEMBER 16, 1911.

"Liberty never yet failed those who are determined to have it."

It is easy to write an impression of the physical side of the momentous meeting held in the Albert Hall on Thursday in last week; to describe the vast Hall and its towering tiers crowded with eager, enthusiastic men and women, and decked out in the familiar colours of the Union; to chronicle the thunderous applause which greeted the leaders as they came on to the platform, to enumerate the people, famous in many walks of life, who sat with them, to tell of the sympathetic messages and of the money which poured in at such a crisis—"We'll show them," the Treasurer said. It is easy, too, to report the speeches in cold print.

But what is impossible is to give an idea of the spiritual significance of the meeting. Some understood it. To them as they listened to the inspired speeches of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Pankhurst there was no hall, no city, no century—the figures on the platform, the crowded audience, had gone. They saw only the spirit of womanhood beating its wings against the last barriers that even as they watched seemed to give way. What mattered misunderstanding or abuse, or disappointment or deception—nothing could check, nothing could daunt the spirit of womanhood. The movement had left the physical plane; the spirit of the speakers called to the spirit of those in the hall.

It was no time for debate, for small measures, for concessions or compromises—the danger-moment had come. Women were threatened with a degrading servitude; with all her power Mrs. Lawrence appealed to them, first to their pride and self respect; then to their sympathy for others; then to their own inmost spirit, the call of duty, conscience, ethics, God; and it was no idle, ill-considered word when she said, "Speaking for myself, I would rather die than submit to such humiliation." Miss Pankhurst, too, lifted the movement out of the limits of time and space. Through the ages we saw the Empires which, as she said, had fallen to ruin and decay; and in a vision glorious we saw the Empire that would rise governed by men and women together. How petty—in the face of such visions—was the fall of a Minister or of a Cabinet! We feel, too, the significance of her warning that the time might come when we would be more alone than ever before—condemned, hated and despised, perhaps called mad.

The movement may have to pass through darker and bitterer waters still before it reaches the light; but the ones who lead, who see the end, who go on undaunted, fulfilling their divine trust, they are the happiest. And we who follow pledged ourselves once more, in that magnificent meeting, to go on till victory is ours.

S. B.

The hall was crowded in every part when Mrs. Lawrence, Miss Pankhurst, Miss Goldstein, and Miss Annie Kenney mounted the platform. A beautiful bouquet from Mrs. Saul Solomon was presented, in the colours of the Union, with a "fiery cross" in scarlet flowers. Mrs. Lawrence then read a cablegram from Mrs. Pankhurst, who was that day in Minneapolis. She sent this message:—

"I share your indignation at the Government's insult to women, and am ready to renew the fight. Shall return with practical help from America."

Then followed a special message from Mrs. Saul Solomon, who had been unable to sit or to walk or to write or to do anything without pain since "Black Friday." She wrote to say that she had found a doctor who had made her able to walk, and she was coming, if necessary, on Tuesday. She sent undivided sympathy and devotion, welcoming "every eager woman who at this tremendous crisis, having heard the divine trumpet call to action, feels constrained to follow you on Tuesday in our victorious deputation to the Government." Then followed the chairman's speech.

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

After a long period of truce with the Government, we meet to-night, a united army on the eve of battle; not because we have chosen to fight, not because we desire militancy, but because the Government has broken its terms of peace. The announcement of the intention of the Government to bring in a Manhood Suffrage Bill is a declaration of war upon the womanhood of the country. To refuse to take up this challenge would be to turn our back upon public honour and public duty. We are going to put through this fight for women's emancipation, cost what it may.

This meeting was, as you know, originally called together as a demonstration in support of the Conciliation Bill, which was first and foremost an attempt to save the face of the Government and yet to secure women the vote. For many years women had demanded Votes for Women as a Government measure.

This the Government had refused, and as a consequence of this refusal there arose a militant agitation which grew ever stronger. Things had come to a serious pass. Several hundred women had been imprisoned. There was the scandal of the Hunger Strike; there was the barbarity of Forcible Feeding (Shame!); the conscience and the feeling of the country were shocked at this new kind of civil war, and men of both parties called—Halt! Let us see, they said, if we cannot devise some scheme which will take this question outside the realm of party politics. And so they met together, and as a result of a Parliamentary Committee, drawn from all sides of the House, the Conciliation Bill was drawn up. It did not fulfil our demand that the Government should bring in a Bill. It was also a concession with regard to the exact terms of our demand. Why was that concession made? In order to conciliate the so-called democratic section of the Government, led and represented by Mr. Lloyd George.

The Wreckers.

Ladies and gentlemen, as soon as the consent of all the Suffrage societies, militant and non-militant, had been won for this non-party measure, certain members of the Government set themselves to wreck it. You remember in 1910 Mr. Lloyd George used all his eloquence in order to defeat the second reading of the Bill, and called upon his followers in the House to vote against it. When, in spite of all that he said and urged, a great and overwhelming majority was secured, then the Government refused to give time to carry the Bill through its further stages. In 1911 the Government openly and publicly boycotted the second reading, and a yet larger majority was obtained, and again they refused time for the Bill to go through its further stages. But a pledge for full facilities in 1912 was wrung from the Prime Minister. That pledge was given in a most explicit form with the promise that it was to be fulfilled not only in the letter but in the spirit, and no sooner was that pledge given than at once Mr. Lloyd George proceeded in the attempt to make it of no effect. He immediately announced that he should bring in widening amendments, calculated to destroy the non-party character of that Bill. But again Mr. Lloyd George found himself foiled by the strength of this movement, which time after time he has attempted to injure in vain, and as an outcome of that defeat we had the other day the announcement that the Government were going to bring in next Session a Manhood Suffrage Bill.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, now Mr. Lloyd George has attained what he tried in vain to attain by his announcement of widening amendments. He has irrevocably destroyed the non-party character of the Conciliation Bill, and he has divided the Liberal and the Conservative supporters of Woman Suffrage into two camps. He has for all practical purposes made Woman Suffrage a party question, but the Government have refused to make Woman Suffrage a party measure, since they have refused to embody it in the Reform Bill. Now it is between these two stools—Woman Suffrage as a party question, but Woman Suffrage not as a party measure—that the Government intend that Woman Suffrage shall fall.

Women, are we going to be balked at this stage of the fruit of our labour and our sacrifice? (Cries of "No!") No, I agree with you, a thousand times, No. Conciliation is dead, slain not by our hand. But that which brought conciliation to life is not dead. What was it brought conciliation? Militancy. (Cheers.) Militancy is not dead; militancy will not be dead till hundreds and thousands of women living to-day are dead, or until victory is assured. Now the Government have nothing to fear from women except militancy, nothing at all. There is no way in which women can bring home to them the enormity of this suggestion except by militancy. The Government would pay any price to stop militancy short of giving women citizenship. It was to stop militancy that the pledge was given last year for 1912. They wanted to get the Coronation over without unpleasantness. They did not want our representatives from the Dominions overseas, who came to the Imperial Conference, to see an exhibition like "Black Friday." They wanted to get salaries for all their members of Parliament in peace, and they bought peace with that pledge, which Mr. Asquith has now for all practical purposes torn up. It is because they want to stop militancy that they are going to receive a deputation at last. After all these years, after all these attempts, we are politely invited to lay our case before Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George to-morrow.

I will tell you what will stop militancy, and I will tell them. Nothing short of the withdrawal of this insulting Manhood Suffrage Bill and the substitution for it of a Government Bill to give equal franchise rights to men and to women. I do not anticipate any such pronouncement to-morrow from Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George; I wish I did. I think we have got to do more fighting first. The militant movement is as strong as it ever was—"A Voice": "Stronger!"—but I think we have got to prove it. Mr. Chamberlain, you remember, threatened that if the Franchise Bill of 1884 did not pass, he would march a hundred thousand men into Parliament Square. He never fulfilled his

intention, because it was not necessary—the Bill did pass. But I believe that we shall have to fulfil our intention of marching to Parliament Square next Tuesday evening one thousand women strong. I want to know who is coming with those hundreds of women. Is there any woman in this audience who can refuse to come? I ask you, are you willing that every youth of twenty-one, every shop-boy, every undergraduate—yes, and even the roysterer and the wastrel, and the man who lives on the earnings of women—that every one of these shall have a vote, and shall be your rulers and your masters, simply because they are males? I ask the women here, are you willing that the neck of womanhood shall be placed underneath the heel of sex? Well, I will tell you what I feel about it. Speaking for myself, I would rather die than submit to this humiliation. If you feel like that, can you—any one of you—stay behind and let other women go forward to fight for your honour? Perhaps, though, you don't look at it like that. Perhaps you have not that feeling of pride, or whatever you call it—that feeling which is in some of us. Perhaps you feel more deeply the call of others more unhappy than yourself. Well, then, I say to you, for the sake of the girl-mother, for the sake of the widow and the sweated woman, for the sake of the girl who is thrust upon the street because of economic conditions, for the sake of the outraged children of whom we hear so much at the present day, for the sake of these women and children, if not for the sake of your own self-respect, will you stay behind, will you refuse to go forward and cut the fetters that bind you and them?

Don't you sometimes hear an even higher, deeper call than these? Does it not seem to you a great thing that you should answer the call of that Spirit which gave you being, and gave you your body, and say: "Here is my body, here am I to do Thy Will, to be used in the fulfilment of Thy great purposes of destiny"? By all these calls, by your sense of honour, by the cry of the needy, by the call of destiny upon your own soul, I say to every woman here: Come with us, be amongst us, take your place in the ranks when we go forward to make our protest next Tuesday.

A Call to Arms.

Speaking politically, everything depends upon the strength of this first blow in this new campaign. Don't you remember how we reduced the Government to helplessness over the Census Protest—(laughter)—so that they could neither use repression against offenders nor vindicate their law? Now it would be possible to bring that state of things about on Tuesday. It would be possible to make this protest in such numbers that repressive measures would be impossible, and you know when you have a Government which is founded upon tyranny it can only rest upon repression, and if you destroy the possibility of repression you make the Government impossible. After all, did not Garibaldi with a thousand volunteers set a whole nation free? Just so, a thousand women combining now and striking together could set the womanhood of the nation free! You remember Garibaldi's motto—"Liberty never yet failed those who are determined to have it." Yes, that is true, but liberty as an ideal only is not strong enough to break down the forces of opposition, of vested interests, of inertia, and of prejudice. But liberty linked with human will and with resolute action will never fail those who are determined to have it.

We, ladies and gentlemen, the women of this country, are determined to have liberty. Let us, then, go forward and prove ourselves worthy of it. Let us be proud to win it. Now I have very much pleasure, and I feel it is a very serious thing, too, to do—I am very conscious of the gravity of the action—I move the following resolution:—

"That this meeting expresses its profound indignation at the announcement by the Prime Minister of the Government's intention to introduce a Manhood Suffrage Bill in 1912, and demands

"That the Government abandon the Manhood Suffrage Bill, and introduce in its stead a measure giving precisely equal franchise rights to men and women.

"That the measure be carried through next Session, in order that the protection of the Parliament Act shall be secured.

"That the Government stake their existence upon the Bill as a whole and undertake to stand or fall as much by the provisions for Votes for Women as by the provisions for Votes for Men.

"And this meeting further pledges itself if such assurances be not given, to take such action as the urgency of the situation demands."

MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

Miss Pankhurst said that they stood there to demand the equality of men and women under the franchise laws. In accordance with that policy they said that if men enjoyed the household franchise the household franchise would do for women; but if men were to have manhood suffrage, then there must be womanhood suffrage also. The moment had come when it was vital in the interests of the Empire that the wisdom, the public spirit, the courage, and the conscience of men should be supplemented by the wisdom, conscience, courage, public spirit, of women. On the following day they were going to see the Prime Minister. They were going to tell him that there was only one thing that would satisfy them, and that was the inclusion of women on equal terms in the Government measure before its introduction, coupled with an undertaking that the Government would stand or fall by this part of the Bill. Instead of that they were offered a Manhood Suffrage Bill, and were told that Mr. Lloyd George would support an amendment to include women. That would not do. There was no Cabinet Minister at the present day, nor ever had been, who

could carry through Womanhood Suffrage without having the Government behind him. What right had Mr. Lloyd George to expect the confidence of women? He had not earned it. He had alienated it. He had proved himself at every step and at every turn the enemy of the suffrage cause. If Mr. Lloyd George wanted to earn the confidence of women—and she could think of no greater reward for any politician—then he must earn it, and he had not begun to do that yet.

Spenslow and Jorkins.

The great test of the sincerity of our so-called friends in the Cabinet, proceeded Miss Pankhurst, would be that the Government embody this question in a Bill of their own. We say to these gentlemen, "What are you doing that you do not assert yourselves? You are the majority; you ought to be ashamed to come to us and say that you are too weak of purpose to force this policy upon your colleagues. You must do it before we have any faith in you." They may answer that the Prime Minister is against it. Do you know I begin to think that Mr. Asquith is by no means our worst enemy. I think they are making him the scapegoat. It reminds me of the story in "David Copperfield" of Spenslow and Jorkins. Mr. Asquith is Jorkins, and Mr. Lloyd George is Spenslow. You remember that when David Copperfield went to be articled to the eminent firm of Spenslow and Jorkins, he was received by Spenslow, and in answer to certain requests Spenslow held forth to him in these terms:—"I should be happy to do it myself, but I have a partner, Mr. Jorkins! Mr. Jorkins has his opinion on this subject, and I am bound to respect Mr. Jorkins's opinion. I will not say what consideration I might give to that point myself, but Mr. Jorkins is immovable!" And this was David Copperfield's comment: "The heart and hand of the good angel Spenslow would have been always open but for the restraining demon Jorkins!" And in the same way suffragists are asked to believe that the heart and hand of the good angel Lloyd George would be always open but for the restraining demon Asquith! Ladies and gentlemen, in everything connected with the recent history of the Conciliation Bill Mr. Asquith has been twice the man that Mr. Lloyd George has been. If I were Mr. Asquith I would not play their game any longer. I should say to them, "Don't make me take all the kicks, while you run away with the hapence. Don't expect me to accept all the odium of preventing Woman Suffrage, while you get popularity." After all, this old, old excuse about Cabinet dissension has surely been finally exploded by this time. Mr. Lloyd George tells us that he will campaign in favour of votes for women. Mr. Asquith and certain other people, presumably, are going to campaign against it, so what do we gain from Mr. Lloyd George's advocacy? It will be absolutely cancelled by his anti-suffragist colleagues, who will scour the country to denounce Votes for Women, while he is advocating Votes for Women. What is the practical good of that from our point of view, especially when you remember that when it comes to Government action, that action will not be suffragist? My friends, what sort of deluded beings do they think we are? What we say is this: We do not want Cabinet Ministers fighting with each other about the suffrage cause in public. Let them have their battle in the Council Chamber at 10, Downing Street, and let them face the world as a united body. Don't let there be certain Ministers denouncing the iniquity of excluding women from the franchise, while at the same time they remain members of a Cabinet which is the author of a Manhood Suffrage Bill. Mr. Lloyd George is trying to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. That won't work. He must be either for us or against us. If he cannot prevail upon his colleagues to carry a Woman Suffrage Bill I am not aware that his place is in the Cabinet—in a Cabinet which is anti-suffragist. They talk of the risk of a Cabinet split. Better a Cabinet should be destroyed than a principle trampled underfoot. After all, supposing even Mr. Asquith himself resigned, is Mr. Lloyd George going to tell me that he would be at a loss to carry on the business of the country? I hardly think so. What I should like to say is this, that in these days there is not in the Cabinet either a Gladstone or a Chamberlain. There are no Ministers whose resignations would be an irreparable loss to the Government.

Stand Firm!

If the Government do not make peace with us to-morrow the militant campaign goes forward with more vigour than ever. People are asking whether we think we shall have a really clear case for militancy. We think we shall. And if we militants think so, that is enough. I quite admit that the enemy will try to make us appear as unreasonable as possible; they will make every kind of worthless concession they can, while they withhold the only one that is of any value. They will try to cut us off from public sympathy and public support. They will try to persuade the world that we are unreasonable, that we are unfair to them, that we are even hindering our own cause. We know all that. I tell you, militant women, that we may be more isolated, more alone in the future than we have ever been in the past, and that is saying a great deal. We shall be blamed, we shall be execrated. They will try to make it appear that we are mad, that we are plunging our cause into destruction. Do not believe them! Hold firm to this—unless the Government will introduce and carry a Bill through next session, staking their existence upon it, everything else that they promise to do is not worth the

breath with which it is spoken. But I remind you again, the world may not think so, and we shall have to be firm in our own conviction of right. But how easy it would be for us now to accept the Government's worthless offer. Nobody would find us out if we thus betrayed our trust. (A voice, "No surrender!") If we were thus false to ourselves nobody would know it except ourselves. The world would praise us. People would say, "Now you are statesmen; you have done glorious work up to now with your militancy, but you have known where to stop." Everyone would have a good word to say for us, but we ourselves should be sick at heart, because we should know that we had surrendered our only power. But let no one think that we are going to be sad in these coming months. There is a joy in battle. The soldier knows that, and we are soldiers in a greater cause than any Tommy Atkins has ever fought for yet. But also, those who are born to make great changes in human affairs are strengthened to do this work, and to do it with gladness. You may remember that in Masterlinck's play "The Blue Bird" there is a child who is to be born as a reformer, who shrinks with horror and fear from his destiny. Ladies, that is not true. Some people, and of them the W.S.P.U. is made, do not shrink from their mission. They are not unhappy. They are the happiest and the proudest of all the race. They do not fight with their own strength, they do not speak with their own voice, they are the instruments of a Power greater than themselves. Our minds turn back at such a time as this to Joan of Arc, the greatest woman in human history. She was reviled, she was denounced, she was done to death, and yet she was happy, and yet she was content, and yet she was proud of her task, and yet she was certain she was right. Remember her words as she died amongst the flames: "My Voices were of God." Everyone who fights in a great cause can say that too. Our Voices are of God. They are of God! Now, if one woman had the courage to save France and die for doing it, surely we, who are so many, who are close together, who can help each other, we shall find it very easy to laugh to scorn the people who do not understand! We are going forward. Ours is a great crusade. We ask you all to join us. March under our banner. Share the victory that is before us."

The War Chest.

No sooner had Mrs. Pethick Lawrence appealed for practical help than the promise cards came up so quickly that it was difficult to keep pace with them. The first was a message from that staunch friend Miss Mordan, who sent £100 and a ring to be sold. Many other gifts of jewellery were sent by those unable to give money. So clear was the call for help that some of those present even gave their wedding rings—a holy offering to a holy cause. Promises of £200 were given by Mrs. Hertha Ayrton, Mr. and Mrs. James Ivory, and Miss S. A. Turle; others of £100 by Dr. L. Garrett Anderson, Mrs. Budgett, Mrs. Douglass-Hamilton, Mrs. Walter Sykes, and Miss Janie Allan, and the smaller gifts soon filled the large basket to overflowing. Great enthusiasm was aroused when Mr. Pethick Lawrence came forward and said, "I had intended to give £100, but because the Prime Minister has tried to trick women I am going to make it £1,000." Other promises and the collection gave the magnificent total of £4,250.

MISS GOLDSTEIN'S FAREWELL.

Mrs. Lawrence then called upon Miss Vida Goldstein, who is shortly returning to Australia, after eight months' splendid work for the W.S.P.U.

Miss Goldstein said the announcement of a Manhood Suffrage Bill was the very greatest tribute that had yet been paid to the movement, and how many there had been in this one year of 1911! She had been in every one of the big cities of the United Kingdom, and in many towns, large and small, and nowhere had she heard the slightest demand for Manhood Suffrage. Basing her appeal on her knowledge of the Labour Party in Australia, who, to their eternal credit, stood solid for votes for women, irrespective of the effect it might have on their party, she asked her audience to trust the Labour Party now. She did not believe they would allow the Government to exploit the devotion, the self-sacrifice, the deep spirituality of this movement on behalf of a further unasked-for extension of the suffrage to men.

Duty called her back to Australia to carry on the work there. "We Suffragists," she concluded, "are one all the world over, and it is not true that the principles for which we stand must be woven into national life everywhere? Dear members of the Women's Social and Political Union, I am proud to have known you, I am proud to have worked with you, I am proud to have worked under your leaders. I thank them from the bottom of my heart for having invited me to share with them and with you the great privilege of working in your movement."

MISS ANNIE KENNEY.

Miss Annie Kenney addressed the meeting as an industrial worker. Women were increasingly looked upon as the enemies of men in the industrial market; they were already eyed with suspicion, and the present Liberal Government ever since they came into office had been interfering with the work of women. What was going to happen if women were turned out of their trades and professions by thousands? Women must work in order to live. Were the Government going to drive these women to swell the ranks of the unemployed or the sweated workers?

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S VISIT TO BATH.

Some weeks ago the Women's Social and Political Union were approached by the promoters of the meeting to be addressed by Mr. Lloyd George on November 24. The Union was asked whether its members would refrain from making a protest during the course of Mr. Lloyd George's speech. If they would undertake to refrain from so doing, then the meeting would be freely thrown open to women. As the Government had not then announced their intention of introducing a Manhood Suffrage Bill the Women's Social and Political Union felt justified, under the circumstances then existing, in making the following reply:—

Members of the Union would refrain from making protest on condition (1) that before the meeting took place Mr. Lloyd George should receive a deputation representing the various sections of Suffragists in the West of England; (2) that at the meeting he would give a careful and full reply to three questions on Woman Suffrage put by electors:—

These conditions were communicated to the promoters of the meeting, and it is understood that they were referred to Mr. Lloyd George himself. Evidently Mr. Lloyd George refused to abide by these conditions, for after some time had elapsed the W.S.P.U. were informed that the meeting would not be thrown open to women generally, but that only a few exceptional women were to be admitted, as follows:—

- (1) Delegates from the Liberal Federation.
- (2) Wives of members of Parliament.
- (3) A few others, as to whom very special precautions were to be taken.

On November 9 the following joint letter, signed by Miss Wheelwright, as the West of England representative of the National Union of Suffrage Societies, and Miss Annie Kenney, representing the West of England W.S.P.U., was sent to Mr. Lloyd George:—

"Owing to the new situation which has arisen during the last few days with respect to the proposed Government measure of Manhood Suffrage, which has aroused the deepest indignation among all sections of Suffragists, we feel it is most imperative that on your approaching visit to Bath you should consent to receive a deputation from our United Societies and a representative from the Women's Liberal Federation, to enable us to discuss the whole situation with you. As the time is short, we beg to enclose a telegram, if you would be so kind as to state the time and place most convenient to you."

Mr. Lloyd George's secretary then replied as follows:—

"In reply to your letter of the 9th inst., I am desired by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to inform you that he regrets it is quite impossible for him to arrange to receive a deputation from your Federation during his visit to Bath."

A meeting called to protest against the exclusion of women from the proposed Government Reform Bill was held in the Guildhall, Bath, on Monday night. A well-known local Liberal, Mr. T. Vezey, town councillor, was in the chair, and the chief speakers were Mr. Laurence Housman and the Rev. Ivory Cripps, of Swindon. The meeting was largely attended, and the proceedings were of an enthusiastic character.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S POSITION.

In the *Daily News* of Saturday last "P. W. W." wrote as follows:—

I am authorised by Mr. Lloyd George to state in the most explicit terms that he places his services at the disposal of the great and growing Suffrage party which will support a woman's amendment to the Government Reform Bill next year. "You may certainly say from me," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "that if it be thought best I will move the amendment. I am ready to do so and to advocate it, inside the House and outside the House, by speech and influence. All I would add is that in the interests of the amendment itself it may be better that some other person—Sir Edward Grey, for instance—should be the actual mover, or some eminent Conservative. Whether I do the actual moving is really a minor point of tactics, for in any case I will speak in favour. I am principal speaker to the National Liberal Federation at Bath next week, and my speech will there deal in explicit terms with the great and final struggle for women's citizenship into which we are entering. We must get the amendment carried, and with the amendment we must push through the Bill next Session." . . . It appears still to be a question whether the militants will work with the Suffrage Ministers or against them. But, after my conversation with Mr. Lloyd George, I am able to state that he will not be deterred in any degree whatever from pushing forward this great project of women's enfranchisement by militant tactics if they should again be pursued.

In the London letter of the *Manchester Guardian* the amendment which Mr. Lloyd George is expected to support is defined in these words: "A household qualification for women or wives qualified by their husbands' qualifications." This view is confirmed by a letter from Sir Edward Grey to Lord Lytton, in the course of which he says: "Personally, I am prepared to support a measure that would enfranchise all the women who would have obtained a vote under the Conciliation Bill, and also married women."

Our own views upon these proposals are given in the "Outlook" and in our leading article this week.

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NO SURRENDER.*

The very title of this new novel by Constance Elizabeth Maud will thrill the heart of every militant Suffragette, and make her open its pages with a keen interest. And she will not be disappointed! As the author says in her preface, "This book is entirely fiction as far as the characters are concerned," yet "there is not a statement touching prison and law court experiences, or present laws regarding women in this country related here, for which chapter and verse cannot be given." Having read this book as one who has been in the thick of the fight, I can testify to the justification of Miss Maud's claim. She has written as one who writes out of the fullness of accurate knowledge. There is scarcely a notable incident of the militant campaign which is left untouched. As we devour its pages we once more review such unforgettable events in the history of our cause as the Pantechnicon incident, the protest of the Grille, the Suffragette Fire-Engine, the sending of women by Express Post to the Prime Minister, and the final word-picture of last year's procession. It is a book which breathes the very spirit of our Woman's Movement.

The Movement was growing and spreading its branches out far and wide. Every variety of bird began to find home and shelter beneath these branches—this was the living Tree of Life for which those in the desert, parched and thirsty, had been longing, towards which they had been half unconsciously journeying. In vain the Powers-that-Be, dressed in their little brief authority, played such fantastic tricks with the laws of equity as made the angels weep. The Tree had life, an appalling amount of life, they conceded with dismay. The roots struck downwards so deep into the very heart of humanity, that lopping away the branches and mutilating the leaves and blossoms had no effect, except that of causing new shoots to spring forth with renewed vigour.

In spite of the author's assertion that the characters are "fiction," Suffragettes will love and recognise in their leading characteristics the original of the brave and faithful little textile worker Jenny Clegg, whilst the subtle and compelling personality of Mary O'Neil will suggest to us a combined portrait of two of the noblest workers in our cause.

But besides the cameos of the incidents which have already been mentioned, every Suffragette will appreciate the excellent pen-picture of an open-air by-election meeting. The initial hostility and rough horseplay of the crowd will recall to many the great Newcastle campaign, and the way the people were slowly, but surely, won over completely by the bravery and determination of the women. In a later chapter the incident at Clovelly, when Mr. Asquith was tackled by three Suffragettes, who also made the wilderness-garden of the house where he was staying blossom during the night like a Suffragette rose, is most delightfully presented afresh to us. The description of the dinner-party, at which the two Cabinet Ministers are suddenly confronted by the Banquo-like appearance of Jenny Clegg, is absolutely graphic. But for vivid realism the pictures of prison life, of the Hunger Strike and Forcible Feeding are difficult to beat. They are written as if from actual experience.

How truly the writer has grasped the meaning of the Woman's Movement can be proved by the prophetic concluding words uttered as a woman joined the Procession in impromptu fashion:—"Well, that's really very interesting," observed Penelope to the young Brahmin. "You can never quite tell what these English women are going to do—can you?" "They cannot tell that themselves. They obey a Voice," said the Indian; "and they are carried forward on the bosom of the onward flowing river."

The book has no conclusion, as is inevitable in a true picture of the movement. The end is yet to come.
E. W. Davison.

BIOGRAPHY.

Anyone who takes up "Mrs. Gaskell" expecting to read a biography will be quickly disillusioned; but not necessarily disappointed. Miss Chadwick's book is very interesting reading, but its construction is primitively peculiar. To the reviewer it appears as if the author had collected the various details and information necessary for a biography, had placed them, carefully tabulated, before the reader, and had said: "There! Those are all the requisite facts for the writing of the work. You can compile the biography from them. I will not so far intrude my personality as to do it myself."

CHARMING GIFT-BOOKS.

For a present to an artist we can heartily recommend "An Artist's Day-Book," an Anthology compiled by Thomas Burke (Herbert & Daniel, 2s. 6d. net). The choice extracts, in prose and verse, are taken from Goethe, Arnold, Morris, Emerson, Ruskin, Browning, Shelley, Millet, Beethoven, Maeterlinck, Ibsen, Tolstoy, Carlyle, Keats, Symonds, Blake, Constable, and many others. They are grouped under heads: The Calling of the Artist; the Poet and the Novelist; the Musician and the Actor; the Painter and the Sculptor.

A dainty and beautiful present for a child is "Fairy Tales," from Perrault, a new translation with delicate coloured illustrations by Honor Appleton (Herbert and Daniel, 5s. net). The old favourites, "Puss in Boots," "Cinderella," and many others are here, in good large type, each with a quaint "moral" in verse.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Seems So!" By Stephen Reynolds and Bob and Tom Woolley. London: Macmillan and Co. 5s. net.
"The Youngest Girl in the School." By Evelyn Sharp. London: Macmillan and Co. 7d. net.
"The Water Carrier of Venice." By Ruth Young. London: Elkin Mathews. 1s. net.
"Sekhet." By Irene Miller. London: John Lane, 6s.
"L'Emancipation Sexuelle de la Femme." By Dr. Madeleine Pelletier. Paris: M. Giard and E. Bueres. 1 franc.

*"No Surrender." By Constance Elizabeth Maud. London, Duckworth, 6s. On sale at the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.
"Mrs. Gaskell." By Esther Alice Chadwick. Herbert and Daniel, 2s. 6d. net.

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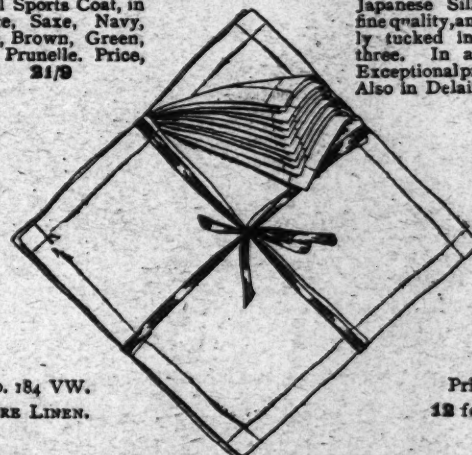
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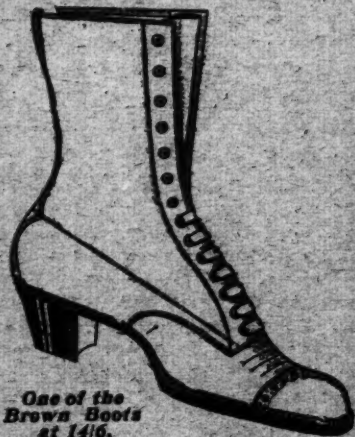
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THE WORLD WE LIVE IN.

A letter from a correspondent in Sweden gives an account of the progress of the suffrage in that country, and of the interesting political situation. Shortly after the International Suffrage Congress last June the elections came on in Sweden. The women took an active part in the campaign, with such effective result that the Liberals and Social Democrats, who have woman suffrage on their programme, were returned by a big majority. The Conservative Government, which is the enemy of woman suffrage, was compelled to resign. The first action of Mr. Staaff, the new Premier, was to dissolve the Upper Chamber, and as that House has always been the obstacle in the way of woman suffrage, the prospects are greatly improved; in fact the Conservative Anti-Suffrage majority has been so greatly reduced that the issue, if the question comes to a head, may depend upon a dozen votes.

Evidently the Liberal Party in Sweden is more true to its colours than in England. In his first public speech the new Liberal Premier in that country said that the Government considered it their duty to bring forward a Woman Suffrage Bill.

It is splendid to see how the women of Teutonic countries are standing out for reform. In Vienna recently a congress was held to discuss problems connected with sex and motherhood, and it was decided to form a union to protect maternity and work for reform in sex matters. The Austrian marriage laws were condemned by the meeting as cruel and unjust. Many of the speakers advocated a system of insurance for mothers, which should secure to them good nursing, food, and proper periods of rest. It is a lesson to us that Italy made a move in this direction seventeen years ago, and that France also has various societies for helping poor mothers. A significant fact is that in Norway (where women have the vote) the mother is protected, and the father of an illegitimate child is punished by law unless he provides for it up to the age of fifteen. In the sister kingdom of Sweden, where women are still struggling for the franchise, little is done for the unmarried mother, and she is still treated more or less as a criminal.

The International Union of Men's Suffrage Societies, of which the English society has had the privilege of electing the president, Sir John Cockburn, has now, says the *Standard*, organised branches in France, Holland, Sweden, Germany, America, and Hungary.

The *Globe* states that Woman Suffrage has now become a contingent possibility in Belgium. Since the Liberals and the Socialists have come to an agreement on the subject of universal male suffrage, the Roman Catholic party has enthusiastically taken up the cause of votes for women.

Miss Helen Dorothy Preece, aged fourteen, of London, has arrived in New York, to take part in the annual horse show. She gave a wonderful display of trick riding in Central Park, and two frightened American policemen rushed to her aid, thinking she was in danger. She won the Beaver Gold Cup at Olympia last year.

For the second time Mme. Curie has been awarded the Nobel Prize for chemistry.

Miss Alison M. Ogilvy, of Godalming, the first woman on a Surrey town council, was educated at Girton.

The idea of the *Standard's* "Woman's Platform" is being copied at Milan.

A further protest against the Government's attempt to interfere with the work of women on the pit brow was held at 60, Prince's Square, on November 1, when Lady Knightley of Fawsley, Lady Willoughby de Broke, Miss Gore Booth, Miss Roper, and Mrs. Andrews, Mrs. Yates and Mrs. Disley (pit brow workers), were the speakers.

Miss Philip Morgan of Brecon is to be presented with a testimonial in recognition of the fact that she is the first woman in Wales to occupy the position of Mayor. She has just completed her year of office.

A strenuous suffrage campaign in Austria has as its particular object the restoration of the electoral rights of women held equally with men, such as that in the suffrage for the Diet of Bohemia, held since 1861, but not extended to the national Parliament in Vienna when adult suffrage was granted in 1907. Czech women, says the *Standard*, supported strongly by the men, have also organised suffrage clubs all over Moravia, and issued an enterprising weekly paper called *Woman's Cause*. Herr von Gautsch, the new Austrian Prime Minister, has assured a deputation of women from Bohemia and Southern Austria that he thoroughly believes in the principle of Woman Suffrage. He urged the women not to be too hopeful, however, as "pledges and performances could not always go hand in hand."

The admission of Mlle. Jeanne Elise Porel, the latest of the rapid succession of enterprising Frenchwomen who have recently qualified for the French Bar, says the *Standard*, now brings the number of lady barristers across the Channel up to nineteen.

Bulgaria's first real taste of the women's movement comes with the organisation in that country of an active society of men and women pledged to woman suffrage on the same terms as men.—*Standard*.



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VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1911.

WHY WE DID IT.

"How beggarly appears an argument before a defiant deed!" The brave action of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and her colleagues has brought reality into the situation and has destroyed the illusions—delusions we may even call them—momentarily created by the statements lately made by the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Proudly and indignantly the Government's sham offer has been rejected. How dignified, how wise, and how loyal do our fighters appear beside those others who are obsequiously ready to accept whatever and however little the powers that be may care to offer them!

We have been asked what is the practical difference between our demand for a Government measure and the plan of having an amendment moved. We reply that there is all the difference between success and failure. Our critics in remonstrating with us make grave admissions which entirely confirm our view. Thus the *Daily News* asserts that to concede our demand for a Government measure involves a split in the Cabinet. This shows how vast is the difference between this demand and the offer made in response to it, for no Minister in his senses would split the Cabinet on a point of merely sentimental and unreal importance.

If Woman Suffrage is made a Government measure, there is at stake, not that measure only, but the existence of the Government and all the other measures on their programme. Whereas if we depend on a mere amendment, nothing whatever is at stake except the women's cause itself, and if the amendment should be defeated the Government would continue their career and the various items on their programme would be carried as though nothing whatever had happened. That is to say, if the Women's Social and Political Union's demand is conceded, and the Government stake their existence on a measure giving votes to women, the members of the Coalition—Liberal, Labour, and Nationalist—will be absolutely determined to get this measure carried, because otherwise the defeat and resignation of the Government will follow, and their own causes of Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, and the rest will also come to destruction. They will become ardent and active supporters of Votes for Women, not only for our sake but for their own. Only a political infant can fail to see the vital necessity of such a safeguard. It is worth staking everything to gain it.

Mr. Lloyd George's statement that he will campaign in favour of the proposed amendment is no substitute

for this safeguard. His are the fair words that butter no parsnips! The Government's worthless offer, even when thus adorned, remains worthless still. In the first place, we notice that Mr. Lloyd George actually confesses to having gone back upon his declaration of principle made only a month ago to the deputation of the Men's Political Union. To this deputation he said, "I am in favour of giving the Suffrage to women on the exact lines on which it has been given in New Zealand and Australia." These terms are Womanhood Suffrage. In Australia and New Zealand every woman has the Vote. Yet now we learn that Mr. Lloyd George is not prepared to support the enfranchisement of all women in this country, and that he intends to speak in favour of an artificially restricted franchise for women, while at the same time he intends that all men shall have the vote. As an amendment, Womanhood Suffrage certainly could not be carried, but as a Government measure it could. On this point of honour and principle we are entirely and strongly opposed to Mr. Lloyd George.

Further than that, we put no faith at all in Mr. Lloyd George's promise of personal and unofficial support. Even the *Manchester Guardian*, his impassioned partisan, says:—"We do not say that the amendment will be carried." So long as the Government as a whole are not committed, Mr. Lloyd George's support of Woman Suffrage can, and will, be neutralised by the opposition of other Ministers.

These quarrels between Ministers must be settled in the privacy of the Cabinet Council. It is an amazing and unprecedented proposal that one set of Ministers shall campaign in favour of a reform, while another set of Ministers shall campaign against it. According to the theory and practice of the Constitution, the Cabinet must on all questions of importance act as one in support of a single policy. Mr. Chamberlain, during the last Unionist administration, finding himself at variance with his colleagues on the Fiscal Question, very soon resigned his office, but before he did so Mr. Asquith uttered, in the House of Commons, the following words of rebuke and criticism, words which apply with equal force to the present action of himself and his colleagues in declaring conflicting views on the Suffrage question. Said Mr. Asquith:—

It is not only without precedent or example, it is an entire departure from the traditions and rules of our public life that, in a matter of this kind and of this importance, responsible Ministers should be allowed, not merely to emit on public platforms discordant opinions, but to pose as propagandists of two wholly irreconcilable views of public policy.

"I protest," added Mr. Asquith, "against a practice which, if once allowed, will put an end to Ministerial responsibility and Cabinet government."

In fact, there is one course, and one course only, for Mr. Lloyd George and the other Suffragist Ministers to take. It is to assert themselves, and to insist that as they form the majority of the Cabinet, their policy shall prevail and shall become the policy of the Government as a whole. We are convinced that Mr. Lloyd George has not attempted and does not desire to secure the adoption of Woman Suffrage as a Government measure. The reason for this is obviously a sinister one. Some people have advanced the theory that Mr. Lloyd George is so vain as to want to take to himself the whole credit for the enfranchisement of women. But this can hardly be the true explanation, because if he were to induce the Government as a whole to adopt the policy of women's enfranchisement, this would be a great personal triumph for himself.

There is no doubt at all that the Prime Minister is being encouraged to hold out against Votes for Women, and that he is playing Jorkins to Mr. Lloyd George's Spenlow. It is difficult to understand why he should consent to play this odious part, leaving other Ministers, equally guilty, to make a bid for credit and popularity at his expense. Even if he were the real obstacle, we should still protest against the view that a Prime Minister is entitled to indulge his own prejudices in a manner contrary to public opinion and injurious to the public interest.

But, as a matter of fact, the Prime Minister has already abandoned his old ground of uncompromising hostility to Woman Suffrage by declaring that he will abide by the decision of the House of Commons. Having consented to do this, he can with as much reason and consistency consent to abide by the decision of the Cabinet. So far as he is concerned there is no difference in principle between bowing to the will of the Cabinet and bowing to the will of the Commons. Yet the difference to us is vital and tremendous!

Why do Mr. Lloyd George and the Cabinet refuse to make Woman Suffrage a Government measure? The reason is plain—they are preparing for us the slip that lies 'twixt cup and lip. Happily, we are alive to the danger that confronts us and the spirit of bravery shown on Tuesday is the promise that we shall triumph in spite of it.

Christabel Pankhurst

THE GREAT PROTEST OF WOMEN.

Demonstration in Parliament Square. Many Windows Broken. 223 Arrests.

On Tuesday last a great protest was made by women against the proposed Manhood Suffrage Bill. Many hundreds of women took part. Some congregated in Caxton Hall and endeavoured to force their way from there into Parliament Square. Others joined the demonstration from different directions. The windows of the Government Offices in Whitehall were wrecked and the windows of other places, including some of the political clubs, fared a similar fate. Altogether 220 women and 3 men were arrested, the majority for breaking windows and the remainder on other charges, including that of obstructing the police.

AN IMPRESSION.

By Henry Nevins.

Happily it was a fine frosty evening, and the hundreds of police who were stationed around Parliament Square at dusk, and had to remain there till midnight, did not get wet. Nor did the more unhappy detectives, who hung about the W.S.P.U. offices and shops, looking as conspicuously innocent as detectives always do. I passed through the Square at seven o'clock. It was already crowded, and a full battalion of police was massed in three companies there, while many hundred more were held in reserve, besides a squadron of mounted police. If force could protect the Members of Parliament, who happened that evening to be discussing the question of mistresses and maids, certainly those domestic gentlemen were secure. One felt that a Member's place is the House.

At Caxton Hall things were busy, as they usually are when "General" Drummond, smiling and imperturbable, is organising events. But, except in the spectators' gallery, the hall was not crowded. The report had gone out that the police would shut and barricade the gates, thus hoping to catch the whole demonstration like birds in a net. It was a fine idea, but in vain is the net laid in the sight of any suffragette. Means had been provided for breaking through all bolts and bars, and the exit would have been only more interesting. But to avoid the chance of accident large numbers of the volunteers were being sent out quietly in squads of ten at a time to be ready to support the general body in the square. However, no attempt at "bottling in" was made, and the gates of the hall remained as freely open as the vote will be to all male persons under the threatened and detested Bill.

At 7.15 Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Pankhurst arrived. The platform filled. Mrs. Saul Solomon was there, still suffering from her severe injuries on Black Friday a year ago. Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mrs. Brailsford, Mrs. Mansell Moullin, Miss Vida Goldstein, Dr. Pethick, and many other distinguished leaders of the movement were there too. At 7.40 Miss Pankhurst took the chair, and in that stirring voice of hers, an excellent thing in warfare, she read the resolution that was to be taken to the House. It dwelt upon two of the main points on which the strength of the Union's opposition in the present situation depends—the insult done to women by the Manhood Suffrage Bill, and the refusal of women to come into their rights on chance divisions taken on a private member's amendment. It therefore called on the Government to withdraw their proposal of Manhood Suffrage and introduce a Bill on terms of equality. Miss Pankhurst supported the resolution in a brief but admirable statement. As usual, she was happy in quoting a great authority, when she recalled the words of Mill, who refused to support Manhood Suffrage without the grant of an equal right to women, because Manhood Suffrage alone would only serve as one more rivet to the chains on half the human race.

Mrs. Lawrence then spoke with similar brevity, and a few minutes before eight o'clock led the demonstration to the doors, without fuss or delay. She walked alone at their head, the remainder following two deep. Wheeling to the left, they advanced some 40 yards down the street, and then came up against the first cordon of police. A struggle began at once, and it seemed as though we should get no further. But the object of the police was only to break the demonstration into small parties. Some six or ten were suddenly let through with Mrs. Lawrence, and they went on alone. We who came in the second detachment did not see her again, though we hurried up Victoria Street, as fast as the crowd would

let us. I was told that she was at last arrested after a prolonged effort to break through the thick lines of police drawn across the square opposite Parliament Street.

From the point of view of the police, their manœuvre was successful. The demonstration never became a procession. There was no body or weight in it, as in the compact column with which Mrs. Pankhurst broke the police lines across the entrance of Downing-street, just a year before. The parties sent in advance were unable to mass together owing to the crowd; and the parties that followed arrived separate, and could do nothing but throw themselves upon the police in succession, only to be beaten back and defeated in detail. This they did with the utmost courage and resolution, especially at the corner of the Square, where the road passes St. Margaret's towards the House. It was there and opposite Parliament-street that the fiercest struggles took place. But even the little groups soon lost all cohesion, being intermingled with the surging crowd, and constantly ridden down and broken up by the mounted police. Nothing more was possible but isolated and individual attacks. The first I could distinguish clearly came from Miss Vera Holme, the Union's redoubtable horsewoman and chauffeur. Dashing straight at a mounted policeman, she seized the horse's bridle, and tried to turn his head against the cordon. She was assisted by another Suffragette unknown to me. At length she was dragged off by three ordinary police, and after a prolonged struggle was led away under arrest. Before that contest was over, I saw Mrs. Brailsford charging the main cordon (here drawn up three deep), and returning again and again to the assault unaided. She then climbed the railings and crossed the grass, but I think her arrest came later, and at a different point in the Square.

So the isolated attacks continued, one woman after another flinging herself in vain against those thickly serried lines, like waves against a cliff. The worst part of the

struggle was about 8.30, and I think it was about this time that my friend Dr. Soskice, the well-known Russian writer, who has suffered years in Russian prisons for liberty, was arrested. Mr. Victor Duval was also arrested there for climbing the railings on to the grass and taking the number of a policeman. On the whole, however, the behaviour of the police showed great improvement since last year. Some women were hurt—one or two badly—but I heard no complaint against the police for wilful or malignant violence. As to the crowd, it was helpless, as usual in London, swaying too and fro, rushing hither and thither in terror of the horses and police. But, with hardly an exception, it was strongly sympathetic with the women, and cheered them with real enthusiasm. Of course, many had come from mere curiosity, and ought at least to have maintained their enthusiasm by more substantial considerations, for he took my watch. But the general sympathy and behaviour proved how wise the Union was in holding the demonstration at night, among working people, instead of among the idle and wealthy classes of the afternoon.

The contest continued for nearly an hour; but at nine o'clock the police advanced in lines, led by the mounted detachments, and gradually cleared the Square of most of the crowd. The traffic had not been entirely stopped at any time, and it now began to pass freely. Taking advantage of taxis and motors, many of the women succeeded in approaching the main cordons again, and there they renewed the isolated attacks. When I say attacks, I do not mean that they used any personal violence. They merely did their utmost to force the lines by rushing through them. Usually they were arrested after a short struggle, and the report that the police had orders to make no arrests were thus, happily, contradicted. Going to Cannon-row between 9.30 and 10 I found arrested women being brought in there every few minutes. The numbers in that station alone had reached 180 by 9.50. Just at that time, as I was returning to Whitehall, I met Miss Billingham, that in-

domitable cripple, being carried shoulder high by four policemen in her little tricycle or wheel-cart that she propels with her arms. Amid immense cheering from the crowd, she followed the rest into the police-station.

In Whitehall and Parliament-street themselves a continuous excitement was maintained all through the evening, because no one knew where the next window might be broken. One would hear a crash, and in the midst of the crowd some silent and self-possessed woman would suddenly be seized and rushed away. Many of the window breakers, however, escaped arrest, owing to the density of the crowd itself, and a few escaped by strategy. In Whitehall, I think the Treasury suffered most—no doubt in compliment to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Scottish Education offices suffered, too, owing to its proximity rather than its merits. The War Office, which I at first thought escaped lightly, was roughly treated also, one leading Suffragette having broken five windows on her own, and there were many others there engaged. But all suffered, and the National Liberal Club, the savage den of manhood suffrage, was not forgotten.

As I went to work in Fleet Street soon after ten a grey-haired lady beside me suddenly dashed a stone through a window of the Charing Cross post-office, and stood stock still until a policeman led her off to Bow Street. Her example was at once followed by two others, but only one of them was captured. That was the last I was able to see of the demonstration, and I think it was one of the last actions of the 220, or whatever the exact number may be.

MEETING AT CAXTON HALL.

Before the demonstration began a meeting was held in Caxton Hall.

On the platform were Lady Sybil Smith, Mrs. Saul Solomon, Miss Neligan, Mrs. Mansell Moellin, Mrs. Stanley Mappin, Mrs. Walter Dodgson, Dr. Pethick, Mrs. Hensley, Mrs. Monk Mason, Mrs. Lowy, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Miss Methven, Miss Janie Allan, Mrs. Darent Harrison, and Miss Rinder.

The audience cheered enthusiastically, waving handkerchiefs and flags, and shouted, "Bravo!" The various points of the resolution were accentuated with cheers and shouts of approval.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B., who presided, described the Government's pronouncement as a trap which the Suffragists declined to enter. The Government were trying to befool the Suffragists with the assertion that there was no practical difference between what they were asking for and what the Government were offering. If there was no difference, why were they told in the same breath that if they proceeded in their claim the result would be to split the Cabinet? She moved the following resolution:—

This meeting condemns the Government's announcement of a Manhood Suffrage Bill as a grave and unpardonable insult to women; firmly refuses to allow the political enfranchisement of women to depend upon a mere amendment to the Manhood Suffrage Bill; demands that the Government abandon the Manhood Suffrage Bill and introduce and carry in the next Session of Parliament a measure giving precisely equal franchise rights to men and women. And further the meeting declares its resolve to enforce this reasonable demand upon the attention of the Government and of the electors by vigorous and determined militant action.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence said that the objective of the deputation was to protest on the floor of the House of Commons, in the presence of all the members, against the deep insult of Manhood Suffrage that had been offered to the womanhood of the country. Nothing would make them turn their backs except, of course, physical force. She warned the Government and the authorities that if any attempt were made to follow out the treatment of "Black Friday" the consequence would be upon their own heads. "We who are on this deputation to-night," continued Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, "are already outside our body. We know that our hands, our feet, and all that we have are being used by the great Spirit to carry out the great purposes of His will. It is that which destroys any possibility of anxiety or fear or consciousness of pain. We know that here we offer and present ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a living sacrifice for all those great sins of the world whose taproot is in sex domination. We go to-night not only to fight for the freedom of the women of our own country, but to carry a message of deliverance to the whole world."

As soon as she had finished her speech Mrs. Pethick Lawrence led the way out of the

SPECIAL MESSAGE

From Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Leader of the Demonstration.

COURAGE.

(The Poem reproduced by kind permission of the "Spectator.")

She has no need of sword or spear,
She shelters in no guarded place,
She watches danger drawing near,
And fronts it with a smiling face.

Not hers the dull, unseeing eye,
Blind fury, and the lust of blood,
Across her soul no tempests fly,
No passions surge in angry flood.

But clear as that great dome above
Which frames the sun and hides the star,
And quiet as the words of Love
The motions of her spirit are.

And ever following in her train
Come two glad figures fair as she,
One with his foot on vanquished pain,
And one the foe of tyranny.

Where'er the sons of men are found,
And hearts aspire and deeds are done,
There Courage walks on holy ground
With Joy attained and Freedom won,

B. PAUL NEUMAN.

"One with his foot on vanquished pain." That is Joy. One does not win joy by shrinking from sorrow or by escaping pain. The only real joy is the joy that has put pain and fear under foot. May that joy be ours, and we shall be rewarded a thousand times over for anything that we are able to do for this great Cause. When I go into the Square to-morrow I shall take with me one of my treasured possessions. It is a little, old-fashioned Russian cross. On one side is the crucifix, on the other side is the figure of the Mother and the Child. That seems to me to represent the whole human idea of this movement. It is a fight for the deliverance of humanity—crucified humanity. Not only Man crucified, but the Woman doubly crucified—crucified on the cross of humanity and crucified also on the cross of motherhood. That is the inspiration at the back of our movement. It is love of womanhood; love of childhood; love of the human race; love that must have its hands unbound so that those hands may be stretched out to help and minister to all who are in bondage and suffering. That love alone can inspire us to go forward, cost what it may. And that love will inspire you, and that love will make you listen to the call of public duty, and together we will go forward to-morrow in the consciousness that it is not only for our nation that we strive. We know that what is done to-morrow will send its echo round the whole world, and that wherever womanhood is crushed, and wherever humanity is sorrowing, there will come a new word of hope, a new word of inspiration, a new spirit that will bid the despairing arise, will show them the dawn, and will whisper to them that they themselves can and shall break their fetters.

At the London Pavilion,
Nov. 20.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

building at the head of a contingent, which included Lady Sybil Smith and Mrs. Cobden Sanderson.

"LORD THROUGH THIS HOUR..."

At seven o'clock on Tuesday morning a special celebration of the Holy Communion took place at the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Primrose Hill, by kind permission of the Rev. Percy Dearmer, for the purpose of making Divine help and protection for the Suffragists taking part in the demonstration in Parliament Square. The Rev. Samuel Healy, a member of the Hampstead branch of the Church League for Women's Suffrage, was celebrant. There was a good attendance of Suffragists of the Church League and other societies. Standing on the altar steps, the celebrant said: "You are asked to pray for God's guidance and blessing on the Woman's Suffrage movement." The Rev. Hugh Chapman, of the Royal Chapel of the Savoy, also a member of the Church League for Women's Suffrage, allowed his church to be open all day for prayer.

IN THE LOBBY.

During the evening Mr. Alban Gordon and Miss Lilian Bradburn (of Wolverhampton) successfully reached the Lobby of the House of Commons. While waiting to see a Member, they rushed up the steps, where they shouted, "Votes for Women, onwards!" in the hearing of a number of Members of Parliament.

SOME PRESS ACCOUNTS.

The following extracts are taken from the account in the *Standard*:-

The preparations for the coming engagement were exceedingly impressive. The policemen stood in a double line, looking massive enough to resist any pressure. Strong bodies of them marched up and down, appearing from St. Stephen's Yard and all sorts of other hiding places to take up their positions. In the centre of the square a detachment of ambulance men was posted, and their presence at once gave an air of gravity to the arrangements. It was very cold work waiting for the attack. The women forced themselves through the crowd and fell upon the solid lines of police. At once a great boing and shouting and whistling broke from the crowd of sightseers, which was largely composed of excitable and unruly youths. Through the dense crowds round the square motor-omnibuses threaded their way with difficulty, and many of these were filled outside with Suffragists, who cheered enthusiastically at the engagement unfolded below them. In Parliament Square there were many members of Parliament, who had come from the House to watch. It seemed as if the Suffragists had abandoned themselves to a course of wrecking everything that came in their way. So far as the police were concerned this phase of the proceedings was not unexpected, and extra men were on duty in the Strand, but the outbreak was of a more serious character than even they anticipated, and urgent orders were sent to outer districts for reinforcements. Strangely enough, there were few scenes of actual disorder. Well-dressed women in couples could be seen quietly walking along the Strand. Suddenly they raised their arms, there was a sharp "crack," and another window bore signs of damage. The raid was evidently a well-planned one, for all the attacks were carried out almost simultaneously. The window smashers were quite methodical in their work, the stones they used being enclosed in little cloth bags, which, by the aid of long linen tapes, were used as slings. Thousands of people followed the movements of the police, who were subjected to continuous hissing and booing. During the rioting in Parliament Square a Mr. Duval climbed the railings with several women and took up the position on the green. The police immediately proceeded to remove them, whereupon Mr. Duval violently resisted, and after a tremendous struggle was, with a number of women, arrested and taken to Cannon Row. A window of the London and North-Western Railway offices at Westminster was broken by a Suffragist, who, as she deliberately threw the stone, exclaimed: "There, I wish I could serve all Government offices like that."

ARREST OF MRS. LAWRENCE.

The *Daily Chronicle* thus describes the arrest of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence:-
Everyone was startled for a second by the sound of a report, and a volume of white smoke close to the Abbey. It was as though the first gun had been fired in a street battle. It was merely the taking of a flashlight photograph, and throughout the rather horrible business that followed these reports and smoke clouds came from every quarter. Out of a sea of faces in the tumultuous crowd that swept up close to the police lines like a great wave there was one woman's face which at once compelled my attention. It was white and calm and resolute. I recognised the face of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, with a round fur hat and ostrich feather.

She was surrounded by police—about 20 of them—who were pushing her this way and that as she struggled with them. My gaze followed them hard, now here, now there, in many different parts of the crowd, as those stalwart men surrounding her were carried on the beating waves of this human tide. It seemed extraordinary that any woman could endure that buffeting so long. It lasted fully fifteen minutes. Against such a force

of police this woman was quite helpless, but the police, perhaps not wisely, were pushing strenuously against each other, and now one side gained the day, and now another, as in a tug-of-war.

To their credit it must be said that they were thoroughly good humoured. "Now, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence!" they would say, as though remonstrating with her mildly for all the trouble she was giving. Obviously the police were very loth to take her into custody, but at last the inspector gave the word. "We must take her in," he said. And so between two big men she was taken through the very cordon she had been trying to break, right past the Palace of Westminster, which she had been seeking to enter—but as a prisoner. And so she went to increase the number of arrested women, who by this time were being escorted through noisy crowds to Cannon Row Police Station.

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH.

The following extracts are taken from the account in the *Daily Telegraph*:-

Last night the Suffragists renewed their militant tactics on a comprehensive plan, which included a raid on the House of Commons and the smashing of windows in Government offices, the National Liberal Club and other buildings in the Strand and the West End.

Although none succeeded in getting within the precincts persistent attacks were made on the cordons of police. Large crowds assembled in and about Parliament Square, and for nearly two hours there were scenes of turbulence. The raid took place after dark, and gathered greatest force between the hours of eight and nine.

Soon after half-past eight Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, the leader, and Mr. Duval, a prominent male supporter, were arrested. This led to a particularly fierce onslaught, but it was of brief duration.

Forlorn as was the hope of penetrating the guarded precincts of the House of Commons, several women essayed the desperate task. Breaking from the crowd of men came a small group of women, who rushed aggressively at the half-dozen policemen standing in the gateway. At their head was a tall, green-hatted young woman, with the others at her back. She made direct for the defending constables with the dash and facility of a dummy torpedo "attacking" a Dreadnought. Repelled by the impassive, but none the less effective, attitude of the custodians of the gate, she and her companions again and again hurled themselves forward. Not for an instant was the defence in danger, but, as the raiders persisted, the crowd at their backs surged forward, and there was an ugly scrimmage. It looked as if weight of numbers might carry the besiegers through, but before the possibility became anything more a reinforcement of constables was marched from New Palace Yard, and quickly made a clearance of the Suffragists and their supporters.

For a few minutes there was a lull, and then sporadic attacks were renewed. The green-hatted lady appeared once more, and with her an elderly woman with a delicate lace shawl over her head. These two, with three or four others, strove with astonishing persistency to pierce the lines, but each time they were forced back into the crowd. Eventually the lady of the shawl, who seemed to renew her youth as the struggle proceeded, had to be arrested, and her colleagues retired from the hopeless assault.

From inside the threatened area it was obvious, from spasmodic shouts and cheers, that attempts to rush the cordons were being made elsewhere. But never once were they successful. As the attacks were renewed, reserves of police were marched to the front, and just before nine o'clock a large contingent of mounted men rode across the square and began to clear the crowds away.

The first disorder took place at the corner of Tothill Street. Here three girls produced a number of stones, which they hurled through the windows of the dining-room at the Westminster Palace Hotel, fortunately without hurting anyone. The women were promptly taken into custody and removed to Rochester Row Police Station.

Parliament Square itself was the scene of the next attack, and a determined rush was made at the police cordon drawn up by St. Margaret's Church, and barring the approach to the House of Commons. The first assailant was a young girl, who, with her white woollen cap pulled tightly over her ears, made a dash at a mounted policeman and twisted her hands in the horse's bridle. It took half a dozen policemen to release her hands, the man on the horse being fully occupied in restraining the frightened animal.

A number of arrests were made at this point, and it was noticeable that once the women were taken in charge they accompanied their captors quietly enough. One grey-haired woman was particularly daring and persistent in her efforts.

The fiercest struggles raged around the double line of police by St. Margaret's Church, and it was here that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, the leader of the demonstrators, was arrested, and taken through the lines, past the House to the police-station, together with Mrs. Brailsford. Her capture, which took place about half-past eight, was the signal for an outburst of cheers and renewed efforts on the part of her followers.

By nine o'clock the scene was a very animated one. The crowd was swaying in all directions, and it was impossible to move with certainty in any given direction. Motor-buses filled with cheering women passed through the throng, and the hoarse hooting of motor horns added to the general confusion.

While the main body were attacking the police lines another party, provided with

bags containing stones, made a dash up Parliament Street and Whitehall, smashing the windows of the Government offices that line the west side of the thoroughfare as they passed. This move apparently took the police by surprise, and before a sufficient force could be hurried up considerable damage had been done. Scores of arrests were made here, and many exciting scenes were witnessed at the corner of Great George Street and Parliament Street.

Finding their way into Parliament Square barred by police cordons, a number of the women started, in a most business-like way, to throw stones through the windows of the different Government offices. The Scottish Office and the Treasury—those nearest the Horse Guards—suffered most in this respect. The demonstrators also turned their attention to the offices of the National Liberal Federation in Parliament Street, nearer Parliament Square, and smashed several panes of glass.

Four harmless-looking girls walked slowly past the police outside the Home Office, then quickly pulled stones out of their pockets and flung them through the windows. They quickly joined their friends at Cannon Row. Within a very short time there was scarcely a sound window on the ground floor of any of the Government offices between the Horse Guards and the Local Government Board. A dozen arrests were made in a few minutes.

In Derby Street, which leads to Cannon Row, and through which the arrested women had to pass, a large crowd congregated, and there was great disorder, which was only stopped when the street was cleared by the police. From the direction of Downing Street, and also from Parliament Square, the stream of women and police seemed to be unending. The scene presented in Whitehall by the moving crowd and the flashing of photographers' apparatus was a remarkable one. The cheers of the crowd were punctuated by the crash of stones through plate-glass windows. This continued till nearly half-past eight, when the police were reinforced and the women transferred their attentions to the river side of Whitehall. Two windows of No. 55 were broken, but who did the damage was not discovered. With the crash of glass, the sound of police whistles was also heard, and when the officers went across there was nobody to arrest. As the earlier window-smashers passed on their way to the lock-up many men amongst the crowd raised their hats to them.

One woman turned off at the Horse Guards Parade and ran along by the back windows of the Board of Trade, smashing fifteen of them with a hammer. She was arrested before she could do any further damage. More arrests were made at the National Liberal Club, where considerable damage was done. It was reported that similar outrages were committed at the residence of Viscount Haldane in Queen's Gate and that of Mr. John Burns at Battersea.

A section of the more militant adherents of the movement, instead of proceeding to Parliament Square, went towards the City, and committed considerable havoc to shop fronts in the Strand. Within a few minutes the plate-glass windows of several business establishments were wrecked, and as a result several arrests were made, the offenders being taken to Bow Street. At eight o'clock, while the main body of Suffragists were engaged with the police in Parliament Square, an attack was made on Somerset House and the adjacent business houses.

Forming a procession in Trafalgar Square, the Suffragists marched towards Charing Cross Station. The women succeeded in smashing the windows of Charing Cross Telegraph Office, Messrs. Lyons' restaurant and a cigarette establishment.

An extraordinary scene was witnessed outside the police-station. A few minutes after eight o'clock the office was practically crowded out, and a long queue of prisoners stood in an avenue of watchful policemen.

Each fresh arrival was given a welcoming cheer by the other prisoners who stood outside the police-office awaiting an entry. One man figured in the long line of prisoners. The congestion at the police-office was very marked, and delay was unavoidable, as the prisoners arrived in such a constant procession that it was absolutely impossible to deal with them as they arrived.

The Westminster Gazette says:-

The widespread window-smashing campaign was by no means confined to Government offices—the first singled out for attack—or even to buildings of a public nature. Shops also came under "fire." Buildings which suffered more or less severely included:-

Home Office.	Daily News.
Foreign Office.	Daily Mail.
Board of Education.	United Service Club.
Scottish Education Office.	Guards Club.
Treasury.	Liberal Publication Department.
New War Office.	Messrs. Hingel.
Privy Council Office.	Walk-over Shoes Co.
Old Banqueting Hall.	West End Shoes Co.
Board of Trade.	Swan and Edgar.
Somerset House.	Lyons's depot (two).
National Liberal Club.	L. and S.W. Bank.
Charing Cross Post Office.	Lord Haldane's house.
Strand Post Office.	Mr. John Burns' house.
Parliament Street Post Office.	

Curiously enough, the windows of the Public Prosecutor's office, although in the "fire zone," were left severely alone. The buildings present the appearance of having been through a siege, over a hundred windows being smashed.

A MESSAGE OF ENCOURAGEMENT.

The following telegram was received at Clements Inn on Wednesday morning, November 22: "Heartiest congratulations on political insight, and splendid fight of the Union.—From Margesson and Household."

PRESS VIEWS.

THE MORNING ADVERTISER.

There are only two possible courses. Either the claims of the women must be conceded, or the disorder which their agitation causes must be put down by force. It may even be necessary to resort to corporal punishment.

DAILY EXPRESS.

Mr. Asquith has made his vote-catching promise of a Manhood Suffrage Bill, and however the suffragists may choose to regard this embryonic Bill, with its vague corollaries, there is no doubt that the threat of such a Bill has wholly changed the situation. We have been convinced opponents of the principle of votes for women. But, as we said when Mr. Asquith promised a Manhood Suffrage Bill, if every Tom, Dick and Harry, irrespective of any property or educational qualification, is to be armed with a vote, then we should insist upon the enfranchisement of women. Adult suffrage is a grave and deadly risk to the progress of a democratic State. Manhood Suffrage would be nothing less than an outrage if women were still to be excluded from the franchise. To that opinion we still adhere. But we are bound to say that if anything could overthrow these convictions it would be these crazy riots, which demonstrate conclusively the unfitness of these women to use the responsibility which they demand. It is impossible to win the vote by an intimidation which, for purely physical reasons, to say nothing of moral force, is bound to fail. And window-smashing is not argument. Under the menace of Mr. Asquith's threat to gerrymander the electorate, suffragism might make new friends in hitherto hostile quarters. A few more riots like that of last night will extinguish these hopes. Violence is now a tactical blunder as well as a social crime. It is advertisement, not politics.

THE GLOBE.

Really, the excited ladies who want the vote handed out to them hot from the oven so to speak ought to try to behave in a slightly more reasonable, not to say a more ladylike, way. Had they been demonstrating in an orderly and constitutional manner against the proposal to inflict very severe taxation on women who have no representation in Parliament, there would have been a good deal of sympathy for them. The manner in which Mr. Asquith has quietly murdered the Conciliation Bill by a promise of Manhood Suffrage, with the possibility of a Womanhood Suffrage amendment, is, we admit, calculated to cause disappointment in Clements Inn. A great meeting or a series of great meetings in London and the large towns would have had a good deal of effect. But this hysterical stone-throwing only proves, if it proves anything, that there are very large numbers of women who are still quite unfit to be trusted with the vote. It is like the behaviour of a naughty child who stamps and roars and breaks the tea-cups when it is not allowed the jam. What conceivable good can be served by smashing the windows of inoffensive tradesmen who have nothing whatever to do with either giving or refusing the vote? It makes one think that if ever these wild women obtain power and have to deal out justice, their maxim will be, Hang somebody—it does not matter whom; do something—it does not matter what. Unfortunately, the deliberate injury to property cannot be passed over with indulgent laughter. When people come on the scene with slings made of stones in linen bags, and proceed to use them, they must be treated as serious offenders, even though one would much prefer to see them dealt with as naughty children.

THE CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH.

The unsatisfactory thing about the Government's plan is that it leaves woman suffrage to take its chance of becoming a part of the Bill. It is not yet too late, we would hope, to induce the Prime Minister to introduce his measure as an Adult Suffrage instead of a Manhood Suffrage Bill. The Independent Labour Party, through its leaders and its official organ, have repudiated any Bill which leaves out the women. If the Labour Party would emphatically declare the same, the woman's cause would be practically won.

In the *Christian Commonwealth* the Labour correspondent writes: "Mr. Asquith's forecast of a manhood suffrage measure has united the Labour movement on the franchise question. . . . Now the whole force of Labour is united behind the demand for votes for all women and all men."

As for the House of Commons itself, its own freedom, even when invited and encouraged, will prove, we fancy, unequal to the responsibility of adding several millions of women to an already too numerous electorate. And when it is known that Mr. Asquith and other powerful persons would be better pleased if they shirked than if they accepted the responsibility, the absentees on the day of decision in the House will be many. In short, we do not anticipate that women's suffrage will be established in 1912. Nor does Mr. Asquith.—*The New Age*.

The ladies have not been slow to display their distrust and dissatisfaction. The truce has been declared at an end, and the militants are now going to bring pressure to bear on the Government. That is a mild way of putting it, but it will make the Government very uneasy. The Suffragettes are so horribly resourceful and persistent.—*Edinburgh Evening Dispatch*.

AT BOW STREET ON WEDNESDAY.

23 Cases Disposed of. 6 Sent for Trial.

The Remainder Adjourned till Thursday.

With two exceptions, which were dealt with at the Mansion House, the 220 women and three men arrested on Tuesday night in connection with the Suffragette disturbances and window-smashing came up at Bow Street on Wednesday before Mr. Marsham.

The charges included no fewer than 114 for wilful damage, a number for obstructing the police in the execution of their duty, and others for assault, while the remainder of the defendants were charged with stone-throwing.

Mr. H. J. Muskett appeared for the Public Prosecutor, and the Police were represented by Superintendent Wells. Mr. Henlé, instructed by Mr. Marshall, appeared for a few of the prisoners; the great majority conducted their own defence.

Long before the opening of the court a crowd of about three hundred women assembled outside the court, but only about forty gained admission, in addition to a number of men.

When Mrs. Mary Aldham, the first of the defendants, was placed in the dock, Mr. Muskett, who prosecuted for the police, opened with a general statement. Words failed to describe, he said, the disgraceful and discreditable scenes of organised disorder which took place on Tuesday night, and resulted in the arrest of no fewer than 223 persons charged with various offences. He wished to call attention to a leaflet which was widely distributed in the course of last week, and bore the signature (in print, of course) of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who was one of the prisoners. He ventured to stigmatise that leaflet as a disgraceful and unworthy production.

"Black Friday."

Mr. Muskett read the leaflet, which announced that deputations of women would proceed to the House on Tuesday, November 21, at eight o'clock, and proceeded:—As the leader of this deputation, I call upon men and women in their thousands to come to Parliament Square on Tuesday, November 21, to see fair play and to protect women from being brutally victimised by the police in uniform and in plain clothes, as they were on Black Friday, November 18, 1910, when, as a result of the ill-usage they received, one woman died and many were seriously injured.

The public were also invited to take note of constables who exceeded their duty and of hooligans obviously acting under their encouragement.

Mr. Muskett went on to say that last week the Prime Minister and Mr. Lloyd George received a number of deputations from bodies in sympathy with the movement of the women, and, on the Prime Minister's intention being made known, the leaflet in question was altered, and another call to arms was issued, which was responded to by an immense crowd assembling in Parliament Square and the vicinity on the previous evening.

The first prisoner to be called was Mrs. Mary A. Aldham, who was charged with wilful damage. The constable gave evidence to the effect that he saw her go up to a window of the Charing Cross Post Office, which was already broken, and strike it with a hammer and then turn to walk away. He arrested her.

An official from the Post Office valued the window at £5. The magistrate raised a question as to the amount of salvage which would have been allowed after the first breakage, and it was agreed that half the value might have been preserved for salvage. The prisoner was sentenced to a fine of £1 and £2 10s. damage, or in default fourteen days in the second division.

Miss Kate Noblett was charged with a similar offence. The constable said he saw her going up the Strand in an easterly direction and throw a stone, which hit the window at the Charing Cross Post Office. He arrested her, and charged her with wilful damage. When arrested the prisoner said it could not be worth £5. The window had already been broken.

Miss Noblett here asked what was the size of the window, and a Post Office official valued it at £5. She was sentenced to a fine of £1, and £5 damages, or in default one month in the second division.

"I did it to Protest."

Miss Ethel Lewis, a young woman who was also charged with breaking a window at Charing Cross Post Office, said, "I did it to protest against the Government bringing forward a Manhood Suffrage Bill when the only real demand has been votes for women."

Mr. Marsham: There are plenty of constitutional ways of protesting.

She was ordered to pay 10s. fine and £5 damage, in default twenty-one days.

Mrs. Janet A. Boyd and Miss Edith Elizabeth Downing were then placed in the dock.

The constable, giving evidence, said that about eight o'clock he was in the Strand, and saw Mrs. Boyd throw a large stone through the window of Somerset House, doing damage to the extent of about two or three shillings, and she was about to throw another when he prevented her. Another constable giving evidence said he was in the Strand, near Somerset House, and saw three ladies together, and saw one throw stones through the windows of Somerset House, and subsequently attended at Bow Street and picked out Miss Downing as the one who had thrown the stone. It was a small window valued at 1s. After further evidence Mrs. Boyd was sentenced to 10s. and 3s. damage, or in default seven days in the second division. Miss Downing, who said there were only two courses before her, either to prove a traitor to the woman's cause or to offer violence, was sentenced to 10s. and 1s. damage, or seven days in the second division.

Committed for Trial.

Miss Cissie Wilcox and Miss Vera Wentworth were the next cases to be heard. The first constable giving evidence said that at about 8.5 last night he saw the prisoners going east along the Strand. He saw Miss Wentworth throw a stone at the window of No. 453, Strand, in the occupation of Messrs. Lockharts, breaking same, but was not able to get near to arrest them at the time, as they were surrounded by a crowd. He followed them up, and next saw them at 451, Strand, an Aerated Bread shop, and Miss Wentworth threw a stone, breaking the window, which was a large window. He was still unable to arrest them on account of the crowd following. Continuing east, he saw prisoner Wilcox throw a stone through the window of 450, Strand, occupied by J. Lyons. They continued along the Strand to 448, occupied by the London and South-Western Bank, Limited, and prisoner Wilcox broke the window, which measured about 7 ft. by 4 ft. 6 ins. They then continued to 445, Messrs. J. Lyons, and prisoner Wentworth threw a stone, breaking the window. He then arrested Miss Wilcox, and Miss Wentworth was arrested by another officer. A hammer dropped from under Miss Wentworth's coat, and he afterwards received from the matron who searched them, a catapult and two stones. The matron gave evidence that the catapult was found on Miss Wentworth. Three other constables gave similar evidence.

A night porter from Messrs. Lockharts, 453, Strand, gave evidence to the effect that two windows were broken and put the value at £14.

Miss Hatt Clarkeon, superintendent of the Aerated Bread Company, said that she heard the window broken and went outside and picked up the stone. It did not go through the window, but made a large hole. She thought the value was about £15.

A representative from J. Lyons' premises, 450, Strand, said that the window broken was about 10 ft. square, and put the value at £12. The window broken at their premises 445, Strand, was about 10 ft. by 8 ft., and the value £10.

Mr. R. J. Watson, branch manager of the London and South-Western Bank, Limited, 448, Strand, said that business had ceased for the day at the time the damage was done, but this morning he found the window had been broken. It was about 6 ft. by 4 ft., and the value was about £8.

They were both committed for trial at the London Sessions on December 5. Bail was allowed in two sureties in £25 for Miss Wilcox and two sureties in £40 for Miss Wentworth. Mr. Pethick Lawrence and Dr. Garrett Anderson undertook to stand surety.

Miss Esther Mitchell was also charged with damage by stone-throwing in two separate offences, the value of the window in each case being put at £4. The prisoner had no previous convictions. She was sentenced to 10s. and £8 wilful damage, or in default, 21 days' on each count, the sentences to run concurrently.

Mrs. Kathleen Roy Rothwell was next put in the dock.

The constable who gave evidence said at 8.15 last night he was in Agar Street, Strand, and heard a crash of glass and saw prisoner standing outside No. 429, Strand, and then walk sharply into Agar Street. He followed her, and a Mr. Ernest Witzkorn came up to him and said, "That is the lady who broke the window," so he arrested her. The matron who searched her stated that she found a hammer on the prisoner, which she handed over to Constable Ward. It was a new hammer. Another constable giving evidence said

that Constable Ward handed over custody of prisoner to him while he went to the premises at which the window had been broken. On the way to the police-court prisoner dropped a bag containing fourteen stones. Mr. Witzkorn was called to give evidence, but was not present.

The manager of Messrs. Dunn's, hatters, 429, Strand, said the shop was closed when the damage was done. Two windows were broken, both of them about 10 ft. by 8 ft., and estimated the damage at about £20.

The prisoner was remanded till Thursday morning. She refused bail.

Mrs. Maud Brindley and Miss Margaret Rowlatt were the next prisoners.

The constable giving evidence said that at five past ten he saw these ladies outside the West Strand Post Office, 447, Strand. He saw one prisoner throw a stone and run, and immediately afterwards the other threw a stone at the same window. The window was about 7 ft. by 4 ft. He saw Mrs. Brindley arrested, and he arrested Miss Rowlatt. He produced one of the stones picked up from the footway near the office. Another constable gave similar evidence. A representative from the post office stated the damage to be £5. Mrs. Brindley, who had previous convictions, was sentenced to a fine of £1 and £2 10s. damage, or twenty-one days. Miss Rowlatt was sentenced to £1 and £2 10s. damage, or fourteen days.

Miss Margaret Small then was brought into the dock.

The constable giving evidence said at nine o'clock last night he saw prisoner stop opposite 111, Strand, in the precincts of the Savoy, Messrs. Cleaver, tailors, and she raised her left hand and threw a stone at the plate-glass window and smashed it. The stone fell on the ground, and was picked up by another constable. Defendant then proceeded to walk slowly away. He followed her and arrested her. Another constable also gave similar evidence. A representative from Frederick Cleaver said he saw the damage this morning, and the window was about 6 ft. 6 ins. by 7 ft., and valued at £4. Prisoner was fined 10s. and £4 damage, or fourteen days.

The Court then adjourned for lunch. After the interval Miss May Jones was brought in.

The constable giving evidence said he saw her throw a stone through the plate-glass window of the Post Office, 17 and 19, Bedford Street. He then arrested her.

The representative from the Post Office said the damage was about £4.

The prisoner said she smashed the window deliberately as a protest against the Government's attitude on Woman Suffrage.

Mr. Muskett said he was going to recommend her to merciful consideration on account of her youth, as he did not want a young lady of twenty-one to go to prison, but he thought it was of no use after her statement. The Magistrate said he would not send her to prison if she would give an undertaking not to do it again. Prisoner refused to enter into any undertaking, and was sentenced to a fine of 5s. and £4 10s. damages, or seven days.

The Only Form of Agitation Left.

Miss Ada Wright was next brought in. The constable, giving evidence, said that at 8.5 last night he saw defendant, when opposite 447, Strand (telegraph office), throw a stone and break the window. He then arrested her. He received from the matron who searched her three other stones. The prisoner said the window was not worth £5. The post office official was called, and declared the damage at £4. Prisoner said this was the only form of agitation left open to them by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George. The magistrate said both these Ministers had received them a few days ago. He could not go into the political question, but there were other methods of agitation available. Miss Wright was sentenced to one month's imprisonment without the option of a fine.

Miss Lizzie Crow and Miss Ethel Löwy were the next prisoners.

The constable said he saw defendants both take out stones from their coat pockets and deliberately throw at the window of 447, Strand (telegraph office) and break the same. The window was about 2 ft. or 2 ft. 6 ins. by 6 ft. When charged, Miss Crow said she did not throw any stone; the other made no reply. Miss Crow was fined 10s. and 15s. damage, or 14 days' imprisonment in the second division. Miss Löwy, who refused to enter into any recognizance,

was fined 5s. and 15s. damage, or seven days in the second division.

First Offenders.

Against Miss Annie Ainsworth and Miss Katherine Broadhurst the constable said at 8.50, in the Strand, he saw Annie Ainsworth carrying what appeared to be a hammer tied up in brown paper. He kept both ladies under observation for some little time, and ultimately saw them go to the window of 447, Strand, and Annie Ainsworth threw a stone at the window and broke it. It was the side window, about 3 ft. by 6 ft. The other prisoner throw something at the window, but he could not see what it was. He received from the matron, who searched them, a hammer wrapped in brown paper, apparently a new one. Another constable gave similar evidence. The Post Office official said the damage was 10s. Annie Ainsworth was fined 10s. and 5s. damage, or seven days in the second division. Miss Broadhurst was fined 10s. and 5s. damage, or seven days in the second division.

A constable gave evidence against Miss Maud Fussell, saying that at 8 o'clock he was in the Strand, opposite the Charing Cross Post Office, and saw the prisoner throw a stone and break the window. The window was about 6 ft. square, and valued at £5. She was sentenced to one month's imprisonment, without the option of a fine.

P.O. Windows Broken.

Miss Kathleen Houston and Miss Marjorie Hasler were the next prisoners.

The constable said he saw the prisoners look at the Post Office windows, step back two paces and each throw a stone, breaking the window. He took Miss Houston into custody. When arrested she said "I will come quietly." A hammer was found on each prisoner. Mr. Charlson, from the Post Office, said the value of the window was £5.

Miss Houston was given one month's imprisonment, and Miss Hasler a fine of 10s., £2 10s. damages, or 14 days in the second division.

Miss Peggy Julian, Miss Frances Wise, and Miss Margaret Wallis, were charged with breaking windows, to the value of £30 at 72, Strand. The case was remanded till Thursday.

Miss Isabel Potbury and Miss Doreen Allen were next brought into court. The police constable said that Mr. Woollard at 77 and 78, Strand, said in their presence, "I want to give these two ladies in charge for breaking my window." There are two large windows in Mr. Woollard's shop. No reply was made by either. When charged, Miss Allen said, "I deny breaking the window," the other said nothing. Two hammers were handed to him by Mr. Woollard in the presence of the defendants. He said this (the larger) I have taken from Miss Potbury, and this other one I had handed to me by somebody unknown, supposed to have been taken from the other one (Miss Allen).

Herbert Switzer of the Walk Over Shoe Company, 80, Strand, close to Mr. Woollard's, said he heard three smashes on the front window. He saw Miss Potbury outside Rimmel's, 79, Strand, with a hammer in her hand. She made three hits with the hammer and broke the window. Then Mr. Woollard came out, took hold of Miss Potbury as well as himself and she was arrested. Miss Allen was also handed over to custody. Keith's windows were broken in three places, and hopelessly damaged. Value £8 10s. The case was adjourned till Thursday for further evidence.

Mrs. Frances Rowe, Miss Violet Jones, Miss Lelegard Atheling were then brought in. The police constable said he heard the crack of glass when between Norfolk Street and Surrey Street. Three large plate windows were broken at the National Bank, 180, Strand. He arrested Miss Jones and Miss Atheling, and handed them over to another constable. He then went after Mrs. Rowe, and caught her at the top of Surrey Street. She dropped a bag containing twenty stones. He went back to the bank and picked up three stones lying near the window.

Mrs. Rowe asked the constable if a bystander said to him, "This is one of the women," and if he said "which?" and the bystander said "this one," and if he then came and laid hands on her. The constable denied it.

Joseph Fitzhenry, bank messenger, deposed to hearing a noise when in the basement of the bank where he resided. He went upstairs, and saw the windows had been broken. He saw the three defendants, two being detained by constables and the third standing by. Three windows were broken, the damage being about £30.

The matron, Elizabeth Nash, said she searched all three prisoners. She found two stones on Miss Jones and one upon Miss Atheling.

The prisoners were committed for trial at the London Sessions on December 5. Bail was allowed, surety being provided by Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

SENTENCES AND ADJOURNMENTS.

Every care has been taken to make the following list correct but owing to the shortness of time available one or two errors may occur.

SENTENCED TO SEVEN DAYS.

To be Released Tuesday, Nov. 28.

The following received a sentence of seven days, with the alternative of paying fines and damages:—

Ainsworth, Miss Annie
Boyd, Mrs. Janet
Broadhurst, Miss Katherine
Downing, Miss Edith Elizabeth
Haly, Miss Margaret
Jones, Miss May R.
Löwy, Miss Ethel
Sennett, Mrs. Arncliffe

SENTENCED TO FOURTEEN DAYS.

To be Released Tuesday, Dec. 5.

The following were sentenced to 14 days' imprisonment with the alternative of paying fines and damages:—

Aldham, Mrs. Mary
Crow, Mrs. Lizzie
Hasler, Miss Marjorie
Rowlatt, Miss Margaret
Small, Miss Margaret

SENTENCED TO TWENTY-ONE DAYS.

To be Released Tuesday, Dec. 12.

The following were sentenced to twenty-one days' with an alternative of paying fines and damages:—

Brindley, Mrs. Maud Mary
Lewis, Miss Ethel Julia
Mitchell, Miss Hester

SENTENCED TO ONE MONTH.

To be Released Thursday, Dec. 21.

The following were sentenced to one month's imprisonment, the first three without the option of a fine, the last with the alternative of paying a fine of 20s. and £5 damages:—

Fussell, Miss Maud
Houston, Miss Kathleen
Wright, Miss Ada
Noblett, Miss Kate

COMMITTED FOR TRIAL.

The following were committed to come up for trial at the London Sessions, Tuesday, December 5. In the meanwhile they have been released on bail:—

Atheling, Miss Lelegarde
Jones, Mrs. Mary Violet
Rowe, Mrs. Frances
Wentworth, Miss Vera
Wharry, Miss Olive
Wilcox, Miss Jessie

DISCHARGED.

Brown, Mrs. Margaret

CASES PARTLY HEARD.

Adjourned for Further Evidence.

Allen, Miss Doreen
Archdale, Mrs. Helen
Harvey, Miss V. Hudson
Julian, Miss Peggy
Potbury, Miss Isabelle
Rothwell, Mrs. Roy
Smith, Miss A. Connor
Taylor, Miss Evelyn
Wallis, Miss Margaret
Wise, Miss Frances

CASES ADJOURNED.

Not having been heard when the Court rose on Wednesday night.

Adams, Mrs. Eleanor
Aitken, Miss M. Violet
Albert, Miss Sophie
Allan, Miss Janie
Andrews, Miss Edith Mercy
Armstrong, Miss Nora
Armstrong, Miss Kathleen
Atkinson, Mrs. Jane
Atkin, Miss Helen
Bacon, Mrs.
Baker, Mrs. Frances
Ball, Mrs. Gennie
Bard, Miss Kate
Beckett, Miss Ethel M.
Beldon, Miss Mary
Bennett, Miss Dorothy
Bennett, Miss Sarah
Billinghurst, Miss Rosa May
Black, Miss Norah
Bovis, Miss Lilian Mary
Bower, Miss Charlotte
Boyd, Mrs.
Brailsford, Mrs.
Brandon, Mrs. Emily
Brewster, Miss Bertha
Briggs, Miss Annie
Brown, Miss Kate
Brown, Mrs. Sadd
Bryer, Miss Constance
Cairns, Mrs. Ida
Campbell, Mrs. Lucy
Cave, Mrs. Helen Cassandra
Cohen, Mrs. Leonora
Connery, Mrs. Margaret
Conway, Miss Kate Cecilia
Cook, Mrs. Grace Muriel
Craig, Miss Constance
Craig, Mrs. Annie
Cumberland, Miss Jessie Landale
Davies, Mrs. Bessie
Davies, Miss Edith Mary
Dew, Miss Margaret
Dodgson, Mrs. Mary Boyd
Dowling, Miss Bourke
Downing, Miss Caroline Lowder

Dunlop, Miss Marion Wallace
Durham, Miss Alice Lilla
Dickson, Miss Margaret
Duval, Mrs. Ernest
Duval, Miss Barbara
Duval, Miss Laura
Duval, Mr. Victor
Duval, Miss Elsie
Earl, Mrs.
Elliot, Mrs. Eleanor
Evans, Miss Alice
Farmer, Miss Florence
Fison, Miss Alice
Forsyth, Miss Lall
Frisby, Miss Elizabeth
Fry, Miss Selina
Fussell, Miss Emily Victoria
Gait, Miss J. R.

Gatty, Mrs. Katherine
Gibbs, Miss Ellison
Givon, Miss Clara Elizabeth
Glover, Miss Nestie
Godfrey, Miss Nellie
Grant, Miss Georgina Helen
Graham, Miss Alison
Girling, Miss Jessie Laura
Green, Miss Janet
Green, Mrs. Alice
Grey, Miss Laura
Gurney, Miss Agnes Brita
Hall, Mrs. Pattie
Hancock, Miss A. S.
Harmer, Miss Fairlee
Harmer, Nurse Mary
Hawkins, Mrs. Alice
Haverfield, Hon. Mrs. E.
Hayward, Hannah
Heasman, Mrs. Harriett
Hickling, Miss Lilian Maude
Hudleston, Miss Evelyn
Hudson, Miss Edith
Hunt, Mrs. Henrietta
Holme, Miss Vera
Hutchinson, Miss Hannah
Ireland, Mrs. Charlotte E. R.
Jarvis, Miss Kathleen
Joachim, Miss Maud
Jones, Mrs. Hope
Keane, Miss K.
Kerr, Miss Marie
Kerr, Miss Constance
Lawrence, Mrs. Pethick
Lackey, Miss Nora Kathleen
Lale, Miss Constance
Lawless, Miss Leslie
Layton, Miss E. O.
Lee, Miss B. L.
Leigh, Mrs. Mary
Leland, Miss Audrey
Lindsay, Miss Mary
Lloyd, Miss Maude
Lloyd, Miss Evelyn Gladys
Logan, Miss Nora
Lummis, Mrs. Evelyn Constance
Lytton, Lady Constance
Macfarlane, Miss M.
MacDermott, Miss Delia
MacLachlan, Mrs. Edith
Mansel, Mrs. Mildred Ella
Mansell-Moullin, Mrs. Edith Ruth
Marion, Miss Kitty
Marshall, Mrs. Emily Katherine
Mayo, Miss Winifred
Melford, Miss Jackey Daura
Methven, Miss J. C.
Meyer, Miss Vera
Moore, Miss Marie Charlotte
Morris, Mrs. Mary
Morris, Miss Poppy
Naylor, Miss Marie
Neal, Miss Marie
Neave, Miss Nellie
North, Miss Mabel
Norton, Mrs. A. Nancy
Nugent, Miss Constance
Palmer, Mrs. Marguerite
Pepper, Miss Beatrice Clayton
Pepper, Miss Edith Clayton
Pethick, Dr. Marie
Potbury, Miss Marlet Adela
Prier, Miss Edith Mary
Price, Miss Frances
Reid, Dr.
Reynolds, Mrs. Margaret
Richard, Mrs. Catherine Annetta
Rigby, Mrs. Edith
Robinson, Miss M. K.
Rock, Miss Dorothy Merlet
Rodney, Miss Marie Forest
Rice, Miss Helen
Rice, Miss Charlotte
Russell, Mrs. Florence
Ryland, Miss Bertha
Shallard, Miss Dorothy
Shallard, Mrs. Ena
Sharp, Miss Evelyn
Sheppard, Miss Genie
Shipley, Miss Alice Maud
Short, Miss Jane
Slade, Miss Ethel
Smart, Miss Nancy
Smith, Miss Jessie
Smith, Lady Sybil
Soskice, Dr.
Steer, Miss Janette
Stewart, Miss Gertrude
Stewart, Miss Mary
Stuart, Miss Grace
Summers, Mrs. Ada
Swain, Miss Corrie
Symons, Mrs. M. Travers
Symons, Elizabeth
Taylor, Mary
Taylor, Miss Rosalia
Thomson, Miss Agnes Colquhoun
Thomson, Miss Elizabeth
Thompson, Miss Margaret Eleanor
Thoy, Miss Annie

Tollemache, Miss Ethel
Turner, Miss Minnie
Turner, Mrs. Borden
Watt, Miss Susan
Walton, Miss Olive Grace
White, Mrs. E. Maude
West, Miss Florence
Woodcock, Miss Patricia
Woodridge, Miss Mary
Wish, Mrs. Violet
Wollman, Miss Margaret
Wylie, Miss Barbara
Wylie, Miss Emma
Williams, Miss Gertrude
Yates, Mrs. Lamartine
Young, Mr. John

PROTESTS AGAINST MANHOOD SUFFRAGE.

THE LABOUR LEADER.

Shall we then accept the bait held out by the Government? We could only support Manhood Suffrage by a dishonourable sacrifice of principle—a sacrifice that would exclude the women of the country from citizenship and political equality.

The Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer seem to have devised a cunning plan.

If the Government did not intend to trick the women out of the substance of political power, leaving them merely its shadow, they would never seriously suggest that a Conciliation Bill and a Manhood Suffrage Bill should be brought into Parliament within a few weeks of each other. If they were in earnest, they would introduce one genuine democratic measure, doing justice to both men and women. To compel the Government to drop the Manhood Suffrage Bill and to place the franchise on a just basis should be part of the immediate work of all who really believe in political democracy.

The Government have promised that their Manhood Suffrage Bill can be amended by the House of Commons. That promise is of no value. Complete adult suffrage would probably not command a majority of supporters in Parliament unless the proposal came forward as a Government Bill. Even if the full citizenship of women were carried as an amendment to the Government's scheme, the Lords would be provided with an excellent excuse for rejecting that part of the Bill, and on this occasion the Government would only be too glad to shield themselves behind the House of Lords. Every Labour and Socialist branch in the country should find some means of informing Mr. Asquith and the Liberal Cabinet that, since they have raised the wider issue, they must bring forward not a Manhood Suffrage, but an Adult Suffrage Bill.

Now as always the I.L.P. stands for the sound principle that every man should have a vote because he is a man and every woman because she is a woman without sex barrier or property qualification or university degree. In a blundering way the Prime Minister has opened the door a little. It has become our business to see that the door is pushed right back, so that all adult men and women may enter and share fully and gladly in the duties and responsibilities of citizenship.

THE PEOPLE'S SUFFRAGE FEDERATION.

The People's Suffrage Federation have addressed a letter to the Prime Minister, in the course of which they say:—

"The Federation continues to advocate the single franchise for all adult men and women as the only just, reasonable and practical method of enabling the people to express their political views through the vote. While the Federation welcomes the Government proposal of a residential franchise for men on the ground of citizenship, it most strongly condemns the omission of women from the Government Bill."

In leaving the form of Woman Suffrage to be decided by the fears of various sections, it seems to us that the Government is taking untenable ground and belying its own principles of enfranchisement.

The Federation appeals strongly to you for a Government Bill for Manhood and Womanhood Suffrage."

MIDLAND EVENING NEWS.

It is certainly no matter for surprise that the Women's Social and Political Union are dissatisfied with the result of the deputation to the Prime Minister who waited on him yesterday to advocate the cause of women's votes, and obtain what assistance they could exact. The result only bears out the conjecture which the projected intention of the Government to introduce a Bill for Manhood Suffrage excited, namely, that the extension of the franchise to women is to be defeated by a trick, if possible. In fact, the whole scheme is fully exposed. What chance is there of the Bill becoming law under these conditions? The chances are all against the House of Commons swallowing the overloaded measure. Mr. Lloyd George is once more busy with glib assurances and promises.

Miss Evelyn Taylor, Mrs. Helen Archdale, Miss Aileen Connor Smith, and Miss Violet Hudson Harvey were the next prisoners.

The police-constable said he saw Miss Taylor breaking a plate-glass window at No. 2, Grand Hotel Buildings, Strand. A hole was knocked into it, and it was splintered and started. When arrested she said, "It was rather hard to break." She made no answer to the charge at the station. He received from the matron the stone (produced) found on her person. He saw the other three in custody of other officers.

Police-constable George Self said he saw the four ladies walking eastward along the Strand, two walking a few paces behind the others. He saw Miss Harvey throwing a stone at No. 1, Grand Hotel Buildings, belonging to Messrs. Fenwick, tailors. It broke a large plate-glass window. He took her into custody. She made no reply then or when formally charged. He did not receive a stone from the matron, but picked the stone up from the footway outside the broken window.

Police-constable Harmer said he saw all four ladies smashing windows. He saw Miss Connor Smith throwing a stone at No. 5, Grand Hotel Buildings. It smashed the window of a hat shop. It was badly broken, there being a hole in it, and it was splintered. He took her into custody. She said nothing when arrested or charged at the station. He picked up the stone (produced) on the footway outside No. 5.

Police-constable Blackwell saw four ladies together going eastwards. He saw Mrs. Archdale strike the window of No. 4, Grand Hotel Buildings, a picture shop belonging to Messrs. Deighton. She struck the window with a hammer and broke it. He arrested Mrs. Archdale.

Mr. Muskett asked for a remand till Thursday to call further evidence. Bail was allowed.

Miss Olive Wharry was then brought into the dock, and was defended by Mr. Henlé.

The police-constable said he was out in the Strand at 8.10, and heard a shout—"Stop her," and saw her running down Strand Lane. When chasing her he saw her throw a stone at Cluny House, Surrey Street, belonging to the Law Land Co. A stone was picked up in the area by another constable. He caught her, and took her into custody. She said, "You cannot prove that I did it." She said nothing when charged at the station.

Police-constable Arthur Wall said he was in the vicinity of Strand Lane at the time mentioned. He heard somebody call out, "Stop her." He saw nothing of the stone throwing. He heard the crash in Surrey Street, and saw constable arrest her. He searched, and discovered the stone in the area.

The matron—Elizabeth Nash—said she searched Miss Wharry and found a number of stones, which she handed over to the constable.

Mr. Malcolm Crealock, the assistant manager of Cluny House, 30, Norfolk Street, Strand, said the value of the glass was £10. Cross-examined by Mr. Henlé, he said he did not give the order for the window that had been broken, which had been in about ten years, nor had he the bill.

Miss Wharry was committed for trial, bail being found in two securities of £25 each by Mr. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Saul Solomon.

Miss Margaret Haly was the last prisoner to be brought into Court on Wednesday.

The police-constable said he was walking along the Strand about nine o'clock in plain clothes. He saw this lady throw a stone at the "Globe" Newspaper Office, 329, Strand. She stopped to throw a stone, which she took from her pocket. No damage was done. When he went up to her and told her he was a police officer and should arrest her, she said she was sorry she had no more stones, or she would have broken the window. She made no reply at the station.

Miss Haly said the only reason why she resisted was that she thought it was a civilian who was arresting her, and she preferred to be arrested by a police-constable in uniform.

Fined 10s., or seven days' imprisonment in the second division.

AT THE MANSION HOUSE.

At the Mansion House, Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett was charged with threatening behaviour whereby a breach of the peace might have been provoked.

Evidence was given that she had broken a window in the Daily Mail office, but the charge had been subsequently withdrawn. She then threatened to break all the windows within reach. She was accordingly charged with disorderly and threatening behaviour.

Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett said:—"Sir, I broke the windows of the Daily Mail as a protest against the corruption of the Press for withholding, with malice aforethought, the truth about the suffrage movement from the great British public. I am an employer of male labour, and the men who earn their living through the power of my poor brain, the men whose children I pay to educate, whose Members of Parliament I pay for, and to whose old-age pensions I contribute—these are allowed a vote, while I am voteless. This is the way that our democrats, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George, are filling our prisons—by refusing their right to representation to the tax-paying women of the country. If this continues, Sir, I shall give up my business and move my tax resources from the country."

The Lord Mayor said she must register her protest at proper times and in proper ways. This was not one of them. He fined her 40s., or seven days' imprisonment.

The defendant then went to the cells.

Miss Margaret Brown, charged with breaking a window in the Daily News office, was discharged, no evidence being offered against her.

AT THE LONDON PAVILION.

"Till to-morrow!" In these words the spirit of the crowded meeting at the London Pavilion on Monday afternoon may be summed up. It hardly needed to be expressed; it permeated the theatre, filled as it was with men and women determined to see this fight through.

The straightforward, manly speech of Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., was greeted with rounds of applause. There could be, said Mr. Lansbury, nothing more insulting to the women's movement, and especially the modern women's movement, than that the Government of the day, in this particular year of grace, should tell us that it was their proposal to enfranchise more men without bringing women into their Bill at all. It was all very well for the Government to say that they would allow an amendment to be moved, but everyone in the House of Commons, whether he had been there months or years, knew perfectly well that when influential members, especially on the Government side, did not want a certain thing done, and the Government Whips were not put on, that was an excuse for not doing the right thing. The danger of this moment and next year was that large numbers of men who up to the present had said they did not support the Conciliation Bill because it was not democratic enough would, unless the women and the men who believed in votes for women were really awake, be found supporting the Government, and either not voting at all or voting against the amendment extending the vote to women. "I mean," said Mr. Lansbury, "to vote against the Manhood Suffrage Bill in the last resort rather than allow it to go through without including women on the same terms as it includes men." Words spoken by the Prime Minister and by Mr. Lloyd George did not always mean what ordinary people thought; when you had been a Parliamentarian a long time you knew that kind of language and how to use it. No other pledge but a Government pledge was of any use to the women. It was necessary for the Whips to be put on for a measure to be passed. Between now and February the mind of the Government must be changed; they must change their Bill, and women must test their men friends in the House of Commons now as to how far they were prepared to stand by the women. There must also be a tremendous upheaval of public opinion. Ordinary working people were not politicians in the ordinary sense, but they would readily understand the injustice of the man merely because he was a man getting a vote while women were left out. Mr. Lansbury concluded a stirring appeal on behalf of the working women with the words:—"You must teach them to be in open revolt against their condition; you must drive contentment out of their minds and put discontent in. Those of you who have something of this world's goods, of culture, of leisure, of enjoyment in life, it is for you to go to these women, your sisters, to stand by them in their struggle to emancipate themselves. Remember, if there is anything in religion at all, that they are equal in value with you in the sight of God. Because I believe that, and because I believe that the lack of the vote is the sign and symbol of the domination that is exercised over them, of their inferiority in the eye of the law, I am trying to get that thing removed, and to have them recognised as equal with men. And I believe that if you go down amongst them now you will rouse up a spirit that will compel the British Parliament to do justice."

Miss Christabel Pankhurst again explained the position created by the forecast of a Manhood Suffrage Bill. The Government had made woman suffrage a party question; they must now make it a party measure. Women had had enough of forlorn hopes; they were out for certainties. The W.S.P.U. were not satisfied with the answer to the deputation on Friday. They had told Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George that they were not satisfied, and had given them to understand that immediate action would result. "Nothing moves us; neither flattery nor abuse," said Miss Pankhurst. "We did not care about reputation when we began this work, and we care less for it now. They say we are too hasty—after half a century of agitation! The first thing we learnt, from pioneers like Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, was that the Liberals would try to bring in a Manhood Suffrage Bill as a means of blocking votes for women. If other people cannot think so quickly as we can that is their weakness!" Miss Pankhurst then read a cable from Mrs. Pankhurst, "Protest imperative," amid tremendous applause. This Manhood Suffrage Bill must be killed. So long as there was one member of the W.S.P.U. alive she would stand out for just treatment of the women's cause. "It is our duty to rebel. The very greatest people the world has known are those who have known when to sacrifice everything, even life itself, in the cause of humanity."

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence said: "Already in thought I am in Parliament Square, and you are all with me, and we are pushing our way through to the House of Commons. When we get there—if we do get there—we will push our way through the passage and into the Lobby, and into the very Chamber itself, and there on the floor of the Chamber we will make our protest against this great insult that has been offered to the women of the country. My friends, I feel the time for words is past, the time for action has come."

HITCHIN BY-ELECTION.

Candidates.

Lord Robert Cecil (C.)

Mr. T. D. Gray (L.)

Result in Dec., 1910: Dr. A. P. Hillier (L.U.), 5,333; T. D. Gray (L.), 5,942. Cons. Majority, 1,391.

Polling took place on Thursday, after we had gone to press. Miss Graham, who has been in charge of the Committee Rooms, reports:—

Work has been going well this week. Meetings for women only have been held in Hitchin and the neighbouring villages, and have been well attended; open-air meetings have taken place every evening, either in Hitchin or the villages in the constituency. A meeting was held in the New Town Hall on Saturday afternoon, at which Lady Stout, Lady Constance Lytton and Miss Evelyn Sharp were speakers, and a resolution condemning the action of the Government was carried unanimously. A splendid meeting was held on Saturday night in the Market Place, Miss Guttridge being the speaker. The anti-Government policy of the W.S.P.U. seemed to be well understood by the men in the audience. One man who promised to vote Conservative this time, though he is a Liberal, said he could not vote for a Government that would give votes to all boys of 21, and nothing to women. He undertook to get his friends to do the same if he could. The organiser wishes to thank those who have come forward to help—especially Mrs. Impey, the Letchworth members, Miss Jones, Miss Chilton and Miss Stephens for the use of her motor car on Saturday.

LABOUR PROTESTS AGAINST MANHOOD SUFFRAGE.

The I.L.P.'s Demand.

The National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party on Tuesday passed the following resolution:—

That in view of the Prime Minister's statement in regard to proposed franchise reform, the National Council of the Independent Labour Party insists strongly that no measure will be acceptable which does not include both men and women, and urges that proposals for franchise extension which do not confer citizenship upon women should be definitely opposed. The Council therefore calls upon the Government to introduce not a Manhood Suffrage Bill, but a genuine measure of adult suffrage, establishing political equality between the sexes. The Council resolves to inaugurate a national campaign throughout the country in favour of full and complete political democracy.

Continuous and emphatic protest is being made by Labour and other democratic organisations against the proposed Manhood Suffrage Bill. The Sheffield Independent Labour Party Federation has passed a resolution opposing any attempt to extend the franchise which excludes women. The Social Democratic Party of Edgbaston, Birmingham, passed the following plainly worded remonstrance:—

"This meeting of uncompromising Adult Suffragists protests against the Prime Minister's vote-catching, side-tracking device in promising, on behalf of the Government, to introduce such an unsatisfactory half-measure as Manhood Suffrage."

Further, this meeting calls upon the Labour Party, in pursuance of resolutions passed year after year by the Trades Union Congress, to resolutely oppose any suffrage Bill which does not confer a vote upon every sane man and every sane woman in the British Isles.

The Yarmouth branch of the I.L.P. passed the following resolution unanimously. The Labour Church at Norwich passed a similar resolution with three dissentients.

"That this meeting views with grave concern the declaration of the Prime Minister that a Bill to enfranchise all men to the exclusion of all women will be introduced next year. The meeting declares itself opposed to any further extension of the franchise which does not include women on equal terms with men, and calls upon the two members for Norwich to demand the immediate abandonment of the proposed Manhood Suffrage Bill, and the substitution for it of a measure of genuine Adult Suffrage."

The New Southgate and District, and the Coventry branches have passed similar resolutions.

LABOUR PARTY'S DECLARATION.

The Parliamentary Labour Party, at its meeting on Thursday, November 16, when Mr. Ramsay MacDonald presided, passed the following resolution:—

"That the Labour party welcomes the announcement of the Prime Minister that it is the intention of the Government to deal next session with the question of electoral reform, reiterates its demand for a complete measure of adult suffrage, and declares that no measure for the extension of the franchise will be satisfactory which does not give votes to women."

A resolution opposing Manhood Suffrage, and calling upon Lord Edmund Talbot (member for the division) to demand that any Bill for the readjustment of the franchise shall be a Government measure to provide for the equal enfranchisement of women and men, was carried unanimously by the Bognor Women's Suffrage Society.

DEPUTATIONS.

The Home Secretary has consented to receive a deputation from his constituency on the subject of Woman Suffrage. The interview will take place at the Home Office at 3 o'clock to-day (Friday).

Deputation to Mr. Runciman.

Mr. Asquith's answer to the Woman Suffrage deputation in London on Friday last was anticipated the previous night (Thursday, November 16) by Mr. Walter Runciman, M.P., who received, in Dewsbury Town Hall, a joint deputation, on which the West Riding Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies was represented by Miss Foster (in lieu of Miss Ford, who was unavoidably prevented), the Dewsbury Women's Suffrage Society by Mrs. Firth, Mrs. Home, Mrs. Pritchard, and Mrs. Buckley, the Women's Freedom League by Miss Scott, and the Women's Social and Political Union by Miss Mary Phillips (Leeds and District organiser). After Mrs. Home had introduced the deputation, Miss Foster and Mrs. Firth put the National Union's position before Mr. Runciman, and asked for assurance of his attitude towards the whole question of electoral reform in accordance with the policy of their society. Miss Phillips then spoke from the point of view of the W.S.P.U.

Mr. Runciman's answer covered the same ground as that of the Prime Minister on Friday. He assured the deputation of his long and ardent support of the women's cause, but declared that, the Cabinet being divided on the question, the Government could not introduce a Bill to enfranchise women. He said that if an amendment to include women in the Reform Bill was carried, the Government would then incorporate its provisions in the Bill, and he considered that to be a promise to which women might safely pin their faith. He entirely discredited the figures which Miss Phillips had quoted, based on the division lists for the second reading of the Conciliation Bill, and asserted his conviction that the amendment would be carried. He therefore thought Mr. Asquith's latest pronouncement promised a much more certain solution of the difficulty than the Conciliation Bill would have done.

Some further questions were asked by the National Union with regard to the particular form of amendment Mr. Runciman would support. He declared for one to enfranchise women householders and wives of qualified men.

Miss Phillips expressed indignation at the Government's proposals, which, on behalf of the Yorkshire members of the W.S.P.U., she utterly refused to accept.

Deputations have been received by Mr. Russell Rea, M.P., and the Rev. Silvester Horne, M.P. Both gentlemen decline to pledge themselves to vote against the Manhood Suffrage Bill at any stage, even though women would not be included in it.

YORKSHIRE WOMEN LIBERALS.

The Executive Committee of the Yorkshire Council of Women's Liberal Associations has adopted the following resolution, copies of which have been forwarded to the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer:—"That this Executive Committee of the Yorkshire Council of Women's Liberal Associations deeply regrets the Prime Minister's pronouncement that he intends next year to bring in a Bill for Manhood Suffrage. It earnestly asks the Government to maintain its pledges, and urges that all duly qualified women should be given Parliamentary franchise before further extensions of the franchise are made to men."

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Electric, Drapers, Costumers, & Tennis Flannels promptly returned.

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To the Manager, Lavender Laundry.—Please accept thanks for your prompt reply to my postcard. In going abroad at short notice I simply sent a postcard asking you to hold my linen till my return. Now I get everything back again (at the end of six months) beautifully done up, ready to wear. I am sure that many bachelors and flat-occupiers generally would be glad to make use of such a convenience if they knew about it.—Yours, very truly,
D. P. O.

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PRICE ONLY 2s. POST FREE 2s. 6d.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Steinway Hall, November 27.

The Men's Political Union have arranged an important meeting to take place at the Steinway Hall, Lower Seymour Street, on Monday, November 27, at 8 p.m. Mr. Frank Rutter will be in the chair, and the speakers will be Mr. Victor D. Duval and Mr. Hugh A. Franklin. Admission is free, and all are asked to bring as many strangers as possible. In view of current events the meeting is expected to be a most important and interesting one.

London Meetings.

The meeting at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, W., on Monday next, November 27, at 3.15 p.m., will be addressed by Miss Elizabeth Robins, Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, L.L.B., and Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence. Mr. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Annie Kenney and the released prisoners will address the Thursday evening meeting which will be held at Kensington Town Hall on Thursday, November 30, at 8 p.m., instead of in the Steinway Hall. Similar meetings are held in all centres where the Union is represented. See page 131.

Christmas Fair and Fete.

The Hon. Lady Johnston will open the Fair and Fete at the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, W., on Monday, December 4, at 3 p.m. The Lady Sybil Smith will be in the chair. The names of those who will open the Fair on the following days are:—H. H. The Rance of Sarawak, Miss Elizabeth Robins, Princess Bariatsinsky, The Lady Isabel Margesson, and Lady Knyvet. In order to avoid a crush it is advisable to secure tickets beforehand; they will be ready on Monday.—Season, 2s. 6d.; Day, 1s.; children, half price.

LIBERAL HOOLIGANS.

At a Conservative meeting at Pirton, says the *Evening Times* of November 22, there was a scene of rowdism on the part of the Liberals. Windows were broken with stones; one weighing ten pounds fell at the feet of Mr. Crichton Milne, the speaker.

MRS. MARGARET MURPHY.

Those who were interested in the petition on behalf of the release of Mrs. Margaret Murphy will be glad to know that 12,034 signatures were sent to the Home Secretary on Friday last, and that a further list of over 5,000 has been sent this week. These additional names, it is touching to note, were collected by Mrs. S. Wright, a florist, of Hoxton Street, who in one afternoon alone collected over 2,000 names, mainly of working men and women in the district, who are most anxious to know if their petition is going to be successful. A splendid example of the way women stand by one another is given by Mrs. Wright, who, although she has eight children to provide for, has offered if Mrs. Murphy is released, to do all she can for her. She has also sent a kind little note to Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, thanking her for her interest in the case.

MESSAGE FROM MRS. MARSHALL.
Christmas Fare, Farm Produce and Flowers.

Secs.—Mrs. H. Littlejohn, 17, Windsor Court, Mow-cow Road, Bayswater, W.; Miss Grace Ross, 19, Silent Street, Ipswich.

Owing to my arrest and probable imprisonment I am forced to leave the arrangements for the Farm Produce and Flower Stalls to Mrs. Littlejohn and Miss Grace Ross. I hope everyone will give them even more help than they would have given me! Many thanks to Ipswich and Clacton for all they have done and are doing. Will contributors and others please notice that all communications (letters, money and promises) which would have come to me should now be addressed to Mrs. H. Littlejohn, at the above address.—Yours in the Cause, E. K. Marshall.

Miss Vida Goldstein addressed a splendid meeting in Andover Town Hall on November 15. The Countess of Selborne presided, and was supported by the Mayor. The resolution opposing Manhood Suffrage was carried with only five dissentients.

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK.

The Thursday evening meeting on November 23 is not being held at the Steinway Hall, but at the Savoy Theatre, Strand, W.C., at 8 p.m. The speakers are Miss Garrett Anderson, M.D., Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Esq.

November.	
Friday, 24	Brixton, Angell Road Dr. Gordon Clark 8 p.m. 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Speakers' Class, Miss Rosa Leo 7.45 p.m. Croydon, Katherine Street Miss L. Hall, Miss Hardy 8 p.m. Hackney Baths, Lower Clapton Road Miss Nancy Lightman 8 p.m. Hamstead, 178, Finchley Road Work Party 8-10 p.m. Harrow Rd., Prince of Wales Chair: Mrs. Rogers 8 p.m. Kilburn, Victoria Road N.W. London Union 8 p.m. New Barnet, Railway Arch Miss Lennox 8 p.m. Streatham, 37, Drewstead Road Work Party 3-8 p.m. Tufnell Park Tube, Boston Miss Richards, Mr. Hawkins 8 p.m. Upper Tooting, 64, Handham Road Drawing-room Meeting, Miss L. Tyson 7.30 p.m.
Saturday, 25	Balham, 12, Foxbourne Road Exhibition of Toys 3 to 5 p.m. Harelesden, Manor Park Road Miss Naylor, Chair: Miss Hyman 8 p.m. Ilford, Balfour Road Mrs. Leigh 8 p.m. North Islington, corner of Hornsey and Seven Sisters Roads Miss Bonwick, B.A., Miss Shoults 8 p.m. Stamford Hill, Anshurst Park Corner Miss Gatrudge 8 p.m. Willowden Green N.W. London Union 8 p.m. Wimbledon Broadway Mr. Hawkins 7 p.m.
Sunday, 26	Castford Tram Terminus Mrs. Bouvier 6.30 p.m. Hamstead Heath Miss Wynnt, Miss G. Ratson 11.30 a.m. Wimbledon Common Miss S. Wyatt, Mrs. Larmarine Yates 3 p.m.
Monday, 27	Kilburn, 215, High Road, At Home Mrs. Pertwee 8 p.m. London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, W. Miss Christabel Pankhurst, L.L.B., Miss Elizabeth Robins, Miss Annie Kenney, F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Esq. 5.15 p.m. South Kensington, Queen's Gate Hall, Harrington Road. Miss Elizabeth Robins, Esq. Sharp, Chair: Muriel Countess De La Warr 8 p.m.
Tuesday, 28	Brixton, Angell Road Mrs. McKeown 8 p.m. Hamstead, 178, Finchley Road Christmas Sale, Mrs. Solomon, Mrs. Brallford 8 p.m. Nufford Place, Edgware Road Miss Dodd, Miss Gargett 3.30 p.m. 97, Upper Clapton Road, N.E. Sewing Meeting 8 p.m. 383, Commercial Road Women only 6.30-8 p.m.
Wednesday, 29	Ilford, Manor Park, Earl of Essex Miss Clamond, Chair: M. J. Menger 8 p.m. Lambeth, Claydon Hall, Kennington Gate Mrs. Dickinson, Mrs. Dacre Fox 8 p.m. Merton Mrs. Hicks, Hon. Mrs. Haverfield 8.15 p.m. Paddington, 50, Praed Street Mr. George Lansbury, Mrs. Israel Gouldwill, Chair: Mrs. Ayrton 8 p.m. Poplar, Town Hall Social 8 p.m.
Thursday, 30	Purley National Schools Work Party 3-8 p.m. Streatham, 34, Hopton Road Miss Wright, Miss Munn 8 p.m. Walthamstow, 229, Roe Street Work Party 8 p.m. Willowden Green Library F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Esq., Miss Annie Kenney, and released prisoners 8 p.m. Ilford, 68, Cranbrook Road Work Party 8 p.m. Kensington Town Hall Work Party 3-6 p.m.
December.	
Friday, 1	Stratford, The Grove 8 p.m. Streatham, 27, Copley Park Work Party 3-6 p.m. 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Speakers' Class, Miss Rosa Leo 7.45 p.m. Criterion Restaurant, Grand Hall ... Lady Chance, Mr. Campbell Johnson, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, L.L.B. Chair: Miss Janette Steer 3 p.m. (Actresses' Franchise League) Debate 8 p.m. Hackney Baths, Lower Clapton Road Miss Fahy 8 p.m. High Barnet, Market Place Work Party 8 to 10 p.m. Hamstead, 178, Finchley Road Miss Kelly, Miss Jacobs 8 p.m. Kilburn, Messine Avenue Miss Evelyn Sharp Kingston, Fife Hall, Fife Road Mrs. Skinner, Mrs. Oether, Mrs. Gammon-Swan 3 p.m. Norbury, At Home Exhibition of Toys 3-6 p.m. Streatham, 37, Drewstead Road Annual General Meeting (Members and Associate only) 7.30 p.m. Wimbledon Broadway, 9, Victoria Crescent Oroscent

LEGAL ADVICE FOR WOMEN.

"It is more to the advantage of a woman nowadays," says a male correspondent of *Woman's Life*, "to be told how to get compensation for an accident, or how to get rid of a bad husband, than how to cook a chicken, particularly when she can scarcely afford to buy a boiler! Judging from my own women-folk the recipe and cookery business is frightfully overdone." The letter was written in praise of the new feature "Legal Help for Women," which *Woman's Life* begins in the November 23 issue, price 1d. of all newsagents.

CORRECTION.

In Charles Wood report last week, Mrs. Rymach should have read Mrs. Rymach, and Miss Fleet's gift as towel than, not towel shawl.

BAZAAR

AT

SHOOLBRED'S

TOTTENHAM HOUSE - TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD - LONDON - W.

Gulliver, and Lilliput City, arranged in the Bazaar, and surrounded by DOLLS and TOYS of every imaginable kind, afford the keenest enjoyment to their young visitors.

Novelties for Presents
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JEWELLERY
SILVER GOODS
CLOCKS
PICTURES
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PLATE
LINENS
CARPETS & RUGS

GLOVES
FANS & LACE
CONFECTIONERY
CAKES
FRUITS
SWEETS
PUDDINGS

The Full Christmas List, illustrated, sent post free.

An article dealing with the women's case against the Insurance Bill, by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, appeared in the *Observer* of Sunday last.

Referring to the article in last week's issue of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, "Little White Slaves," a correspondent points out that what is needed to-day is that the public, who either do not know or only half realise that such a terrible state of things exists, should have their eyes opened, and one way of doing this is by giving last week's copy of the paper a wide circulation.

Madame Avril de Sainte-Croix, Secretary of the French Committee of the International Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice, and a friend of Mrs. Josephine Butler, will address a public meeting at Morley Hall (26, George Street, Hanover Square), on Tuesday, December 5, at 5 p.m., on "Les Lois et les Moeurs—L'Unité de la Morale."

TAX RESISTANCE.

Central Office: 10, Tavistock House, St. Martin's Lane.

Miss Ada Kent, of Woodgrange Road, Forest Gate, who, it will be remembered, went to prison last year for the non-payment of her rates, has again been arrested for the non-payment of the General District and Poor Rate. In defence she said it was ridiculous to expect a woman to pay, because although women paid rates they were not citizens. The magistrate sentenced her to twenty-one days on each count, to run concurrently.

On Tuesday, November 14, a gold bracelet, the property of Miss Marie Lawson, was sold by auction at Bailey's Sale Rooms, Great Ormond Street, Miss Lawson having refused to pay Imperial Taxes while debarred from the exercise of the Parliamentary Franchise. As the result of Miss Lawson's refusal to pay her Imperial Taxes a sale of her goods took place in Reading on the same day, and afterwards a successful public meeting was held in Palmer Hall.

IRISH SUFFRAGISTS AND HOME RULE

The Irish Women's Franchise League has sent a letter to the Prime Minister regarding his pronouncement on the introduction of a Manhood Suffrage Bill next session with grave dissatisfaction, pointing out that there has been absolutely no demand for such a change in the franchise in Ireland.

On the other hand, they consider that Ministers have been given a mandate to include women in any franchise scheme which is enforced in Ireland, and they demand that women be put on a basis of equality with men in any such measure. The letter adds:—

"We call on you to give us an assurance that Irish women shall have the same right as Irish men to elect the first Irish Parliament, and we demand that there shall be a provision to this effect in the promised Home Rule Bill. Failing assurances from the Government on these points—regarding the equality of suffrage rights and the position of women in the Home Rule Bill—we shall be forced to resort to militant tactics."

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION.

13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

The committee of the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement has passed a resolution expressing indignation at the Government's announcement that a Manhood Suffrage Bill is to be introduced in 1912, and declaring its determination to revert to its militant anti-Government policy and to use every means in its power to compel the Government either to withdraw the Manhood Suffrage Bill or to include Womanhood Suffrage as an integral part of the measure.

Schweppes
Green Ginger Wine

of all Grocers
and
Stores

Refreshing! Stimulating!! Healthful!!!
An efficient and highly palatable digestive.
Always backed by the name of Schweppes
—Verb. sap.

Schweppes, Ltd.
Purveyors of
Mineral Waters
To H.M. The King

CHRISTMAS FAIR AND FÊTE, DEC. 4 to 9.

Intending contributors are reminded that the time has come for sending in all gifts to stall-holders, and they are asked to see that articles, especially anything in the nature of glass or ware, are packed carefully. Several fragile gifts have already been received in a broken condition. As stall-holders are already aware, a storing place has been secured for the week beginning November 27, and all parcels should be sent there from November 27 to December 1. If contributors are unable to send their goods to stall-holders by November 24, they are asked to apply at the addresses given below for special labels.

REFRESHMENT ROOM.

Promises of food to be sent to Mrs. Tuckwell, 4, Ingoldsby Mansions, Avonmore Road, West Kensington. Offers of help as waitresses in refreshment room should be sent to Mrs. Walter Sykes, 28, Whitehall Court, London, S.W.; Mrs. Hollings, Watchetts, Frimley; and to Miss Joan Dugdale, 13, Stanhope Place, Marble Arch, W.

LACE, EMBROIDERY AND ART METAL WORK.

Sec.—Miss Florence E. Cobb, 8, North St., Quadrant, Brighton.

Members are asked to send all contributions to the office not later than Wednesday, November 29, so that there will be plenty of time for listing and packing. Many thanks for gifts of money and contributions from the following: Mrs. Allman, Miss Barringham, Mrs. Booth, Mrs. Brookes, Miss K. Brookes, Mrs. Burnier, Miss Chamberlin, Miss E. P. Cobb, Miss C. C. Cooke, Mrs. Duncan, Mrs. Fisher, Miss K. Hewitt, Miss M. Padwick, Miss E. Richards, Miss Robertson, Miss Florence H. Singer and Miss Soutter.

WELSH STALL.

Mrs. Mackworth, Llansear, Caerleon, Mon.

Will all friends who intend contributing towards the Welsh Stall send in their gifts (ready priced), on or before Nov. 27.

WOOLLEN STALL.

Miss Elra Wheeler, Middleton Lodge, Cheltenham. Cheltenham members are asked to send their contributions to Miss Wheeler, Middleton Lodge. A special appeal is made for woollen goods. A special feature of this stall will be tweeds made in the Stroud Cloth Mills. A stock of warm dressing-gowns and jackets is needed. Many thanks to Miss Whitaker, of Cheltenham, who has undertaken to make three. Who will follow her example? Miss E. L. Andrews is also thanked for organising the work-parties weekly.

CHILDREN'S CLOTHING.

Sec.—Mrs. Lamartine Yates, 9, Victoria Crescent, Broadway, Wimbledon.

Will all members and friends send their completed work to Dorset Hall, Merton, Surrey, at once, that it may be duly labelled and packed. Mrs. Rowson is thanked for her contribution towards material, Miss McVinish for little garments, Mrs. Belmont and Miss Hatton for a number of very useful articles, Mrs. Wiggins for a dainty frock, Mrs. Cairns for gloves, etc., Miss Mabe for charming feeders and jackets, Mrs. Batley for dresses completed, Miss Wheaton for a tunic dress, and Miss Dale for pinafores and little bonnets. Members are urged to make one final effort to finish as much work as possible, and to do all they can in every way to relieve the heavy strain which necessarily falls on the stall-managers.

HOUSE LINEN.

Sec.—Mrs. Walter Dodgson, Holmesley, Woodlesford, near Leeds.

Leeds members please note that all goods must

be sent in to-morrow Saturday to the office. Mrs. Dodgson and Mrs. Cohen have gone to London for the deputation, but Miss Farmer will take charge of all goods in their place.

BLOUSE STALL.

Miss Jessie Pease, 247, Goswell Road, E.C.

Will those Reading members who have not yet sent in their contributions kindly do so now in the form of a donation (the smallest sum is acceptable) or a ready-made blouse?

PRESENTS FOR MEN.

Sec.—Miss Billing, 1, Clement's Inn, Strand.

A final appeal is made to friends and members of North and West Kent and North Islington for contributions, either in cash or in kind, for this stall. Please forward any donations to Miss Evelyn Billing. Gratefully acknowledged:—Miss Douglas, fretwork and pokerwork articles; Mrs. Kessick Bowes, goods; Mrs. Harley, 2s.; Miss Pendered, 5s.; Miss Ethel Wedgwood, 10s. Also promised, contributions from Miss Simmons, Mrs. Fortescue, Mrs. Nuthall, Mrs. Thick, Mrs. Harnett, Mrs. Stokes, and from some Gillingham members. A friend, 10; Mrs. Argunes, Crouch End, goods.

DRESSES, DUBBANS, OVERALLS.

Miss Dorothy Pethick, 4, Bowling Green Street, Leicester.

Members will be glad to hear that by goods and promises received, it is calculated that the £100 standard has been reached and passed. The committee wish to thank all those members who have so loyally and generously supported them in their undertaking. It now remains for everyone to try and attend the Fair, and write to all friends and acquaintances in London about it. Hand-bills can be had in the shop. Gratefully acknowledged: Miss Winifred Jones, 10s.; Mrs. Frisby, 5s.; Miss Frisby, 10s. 6d.; Miss E. Frisby, £1.

OTHER STALLS AND

ANTIQUE STALL Mrs. Thomas, Llanwern Park, Newport, Mon.
BASKETS AND BAGS Mrs. Malcolm Evans, 37, Queen's Road, Clifton, Bristol.
CUSHIONS AND MATS (of all descriptions) The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, 50, Praed Street, Paddington.
UNDERCLOTHING Miss Nelly Crocker, 6, Carlton Street, Nottingham.
ART AND CRAFTS STALL Miss Blacklock, 308, King's Road, Chelsea.
MANY INVENTIONS Mrs. Mansel, Bayford Lodge, Wincanton, Somerset.
SWEET STALL Miss Muriel Thompson and Miss Leggett, 49, Queen's Gate, S.W., (last 3 days).
Mrs. Gether, Red Cottage, Cavendish Road, Redhill (2nd 3 days).
TOY STALL Miss Leonora Tyson, 8, Shrubbery Road, Streatham, S.W.

Send your
SOILED GOWN and 4s.
TO
CLARK'S.

They will Dry Clean and return it, postage paid, looking like new.

WRITE NOW FOR COMPLETE PRICE LIST.

CLARK & CO., THE CLEANERS,
14, HALLCROFT ROAD, RETFORD.

Miss J. Frisby, £1. Miss Pell Smith, 5s.; Miss Mudd, 2s.; gifts have also been received from the above and from Mrs. Preston, Miss Davy, Miss Metcalfe, Mrs. Brockington, Miss English, Miss Wyde, Miss Carryer and Mrs. Barkla. £3 is still needed for material fund and to pay rent of G.F.S. room. This should be cleared off before December 4. Gifts and all work should be sent to Leicester not later than November 27.

HERTFORDSHIRE STALL.

Household and Furnishing.

Sec.—Mrs. Impey, 2, Whinbush Road, Hitchin, Herts.

The last working party will be at Mrs. Moncaster's "Faireaks," Sollenholt-to-day (Friday), 3-6 p.m. Goods received and finished will then be on show prior to packing for London. Any Jumble gifts or funds will be gratefully received by Miss Paster, "Redcroft," Baldock Road, Letchworth. Many thanks for the delightful parcel of goods received from Miss Napier's friends; also to all friends who have so generously helped by giving

working parties and teas each week. Gratefully acknowledged:—Mrs. Lowman, a beautiful etching of Milton's cottage, the Misses Wilcox, 5s.

BOOK STALL.

Secs.—Miss Crales and Miss Evelyn Sharp, 183, Church Street, Kensington, W.

The secretaries will be glad to receive new books, suitable for Christmas presents; children's books and small dainty editions are especially welcome. All contributions should be addressed to Miss Crales, 33, Holland Villas Road, Kensington, W. Gratefully acknowledged: Books from the following—Miss Beatrice Harraden, Miss May Sinclair, Miss Annette Hullah, Mrs. de Horne Vaizey, Mrs. Woods, Miss Roll, Mrs. Turnbull, Miss Joseph, Miss Milman, Miss Constance Maud, the Author of "The Maniac," Mrs. Mona Caird, Mr. John Galsworthy, Mr. E. V. Lucas, Mr. Frank Rutter, and Mr. Frelouker; Mrs. Bainbridge, 5s.; Miss E. Burdett, £1 5s.; Mrs. Herbert Cohen, £5 10s. 9d.; Mrs. Dudden, 2s.; Miss Edwards, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Greenwood Pearson, £1; Mr. J. H. Hart, 5s.; Mrs. Ford Madox Hueffer, £1; Miss de Hersant, 2s. 6d.; Miss McLean, 1s.; Mrs. Palmer, 1s.; Mr. Pott, £5; Miss Reid, £1; J. S., 1s.; S. E. W., 4s.; Miss M. Wolfe, 2s. 6d. Miss Beatrice Harraden, Miss Elizabeth Robins, and Miss Christine Silver will assist at the stall during the Fair, in addition to the regular sellers in costume, Mrs. Hart, Miss Head, and Miss Margaret Hannay.

W.S.P.U. SPECIAL COLOUR STALL, AND PALMISTRY.

Secs.—Miss Fergus and Miss Vibert, 62, High Street, Hampstead.

We heartily thank the Misses Smith for their very generous offer to stock half this stall, as this relieves us of great anxiety; also Miss Sanders for a large basket of pretty novelties. The Palmistry section proved such a great attraction at Princes' that we have again appealed to many of those West-End Palmists who so generously gave their services, and we have already been successful in securing promises of help from Miss Lovell, Estelle, Mrs. St. Leonard, Mrs.

Clear your Complexion

BY
PURIFYING YOUR BLOOD.
PURIFY YOUR BLOOD BY TAKING
BRAGG'S CHARCOAL

It eradicates all impurities by absorption, thus removing the CAUSE of Eczema, Blisters, Pimples, Spots and the like. This Remedy has benefited thousands during the last half century.

Of all Chemists, Biscuits, 1/-, 2/-, and 4/-, per Tin; Powder 2/- and 4/- per Bottle; Lozenges, 1/6 per Tin; in Chocolate, 2/- per Tin. **CAS SULES**—convenient for travelling, 2/- per box.

J. L. BRAGG, Ltd.
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F. LUDICKE'S

HAIR-DRESSING SALOONS,

9 Private Courts for Ladies, Attendance.

Specialist in Hair Treatment.

Ladies troubled with SCURF should pay him a visit and try his SPECIAL METHOD of REMOVING same.

Transformations ...	...	...	4 gns.
Semi-Transformations ...	...	...	2 gns.
Frames to wear underneath the			
Hair ...	...	from	10/6
Switches ...	...	from	7/6
Curls ...	...	from	7/6

39, SOUTHAMPTON ROW, W.C.

The Newest Style of Chignon made to order. Combing made up.

BADGES & BANNERS
FOR DEMONSTRATIONS, Etc.

Medallists for every Society. Makers to the N.W.S.P.U.

TOYE & CO.,

57, Theobald's Road, London, W.C.

The Guarantee.
If your Omne Tempus fails to keep out the wet—we will take it back.
Samuel Brothers Ltd.

THE ONLY RUBBERLESS RAINCOAT WITH A GUARANTEE.

SLIP-ONS From 52/6 ULSTERS From 63/-

Ready for wear in all sizes and styles, or made to order. Patterns free. Coats on approval.

We hold ourselves responsible for fitting ladies from their own measures or pattern garments.

LADY CHARLES BENTINCK says: "I was out hunting six hours in pouring pelting rain, but when I got home I was absolutely dry. I have never seen any thing like the Omne Tempus."

Samuel Brothers
65 & 67, Ludgate Hill, London.

Neglect is Fatal.

To neglect constipation, one of the most prevalent disorders of to-day, is certain to lead to worse things sooner or later. Every open-eyed doctor will confirm that.

Purgatives do not Cure

They only give temporary relief and actually weaken the very functions which need strengthening. The many who have been wise enough to avoid wrong kinds of food, and have discarded all other bread or cereal food for the time being, and taken

only

Laxative Wafers

three or four pieces with every meal, together with butter or cream cheese, and salad or fresh fruit, and have continued this for two or three weeks, have proved that this unique food does

Cure Constipation

even in cases where it has become chronic.

Ask for "Laxative Bread" at your Chemist's or Health Food Store, or send postcard for full particulars, hints on Diet, and price-list of other Natural Foods, to

THE SIMPLE LIFE CO., LTD.,
411, Oxford Street, London, W.,

mentioning this paper. Or 'phone, 3833, Mayfair.

DIMOLINE PIANO CO.

Special Sale of Pianos. Cheap. All Makers.

SILENCING STOP PIANOS
FROM 20 gns. CASH.

PLAYER PIANOS. SIMPLEX PLAYERS.
Special Terms to Members W.S.P.U.

Manager: MRS. DIMOLINE JONES, 11, Parkhurst Road, HOLLOWAY (Private House)
Furniture, &c. Grace Jones.

Johnson, Mrs. Cecil Crofts, and Madame Claire. Madame Bonheur, chromoscopist and psychometrist, and Madame Gena, F.B.P.S., physiognomist, have also kindly offered to give daily readings.

LUCKY TUBS.

Parcels are gratefully acknowledged from Mrs. Roberts, Mrs. Benbow, Miss Heath, "Carrie, Annie and Lil," and Miss Crush. All articles for the lucky tub should be sent in quickly now as time is getting short.

MILLINERY.

Sec.—Mrs. Reginald Pott, 11, Scarsdale Villas Kensington.

Mrs. Reginald Pott would like to remind all those who are kindly giving her hats for her stall that they should be sent to the above address by November 25. She hopes that all members are waiting until the Fête and Fair opens to buy their winter hats. The following firms have already most generously promised hats:—

Madame Agutter, South Molton Street, W.; Miss Angus, 4, Conduit Street, W.; Madame Atkins, Harewood Place, Hanover Square; Messrs. John Barker, Kensington, W.; Mrs. Caplin & Ballard, Heath Street, Hampstead; Madame Corelli, 137, Kensington High Street; Madame Elizabeth, South Molton Street, W.; Madame Emilie, Woking, Surrey; Messrs. Daniel Evans, Sheffield; Madame Farquhar, 137, Earl's Court Road, S.W.; The French Hat Shop, 322, Regent Street, W.; Messrs. Glyn, 210, Earl's Court Road, S.W.; Messrs. T. J. Harries & Company, Oxford Street, W.; Messrs. W. H. Hunt & Company, Kensington High Street; Messrs. Jones, 200, Earl's Court Road, S.W.; Messrs. Liberty, Regent Street; Miss Amy Kotze, 8, Great Marlborough Street; Miss Mulberry, Grafton Street, Bond Street; Mr. William Owen, Westbourne Grove; Messrs. Owles & Beaumont, Brompton Road; Messrs. Pott, Kensington; Messrs. Peter Robinson, Regent Street; Miss Rochford, 34, Baker Street, W.; Mme. Renée le Roy, 71, Park Street, Grosvenor Square; Miss Mildred Trim, 74, Walm Lane, Willesden.

FAIR SECTION.

Sec.—Allen R. Macdougall, 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Only one more week remains now before the opening of the Fair, and members who intend to help are asked to send in their names at once. Helpers are specially wanted for the afternoons, and financial aid is most imperative. The strain on the finances for initial expenses would be greatly lightened if those members who cannot take part in the active work of the Union were to help with subscriptions. The following articles are urgently needed:—Five dozen wooden balls for the shies; one gross small envelopes for holding quantities of six slugs; small articles such as boxes of cigarettes, chocolates, bon-bons, and home-made sweets, small pin-cushions, cakes of good soap, and any other small articles one can think of for the hoop la; two painted tambourines for collecting boxes at the Punch and Judy. A lady friend who would offer to dress the Punch and Judy dolls would be welcomed. In addition to the Punch show there will be two well-known entertainers, viz., Herbert J. Collings, who will present his Drawing Room Séance, and Maurice Garland, the "Merry Magician." Both these gentlemen are well-known society entertainers, the latter having the honour of performing before their Majesties the King and Queen and other members of the Royal Family. Professor L. Georgio will also give his good services in conjuring during the week. Thanks to the following friends for their help:—Madame A. Myers, Miss Bennett, and Mrs. H. P. Pratt, for their gifts of lavender bags and sachets, Mrs. Rutter for offering to dress some of the Punch dolls, to Maurice Garland, Esq., for offering to perform, and to Mrs. Brown for the loan of four air-guns, and a gift of many pounds of slugs.

SOAP, SCENT, & HANDKERCHIEFS.

Sec.—Miss Wilson, 5, East Cliff, Dover.

Contributors are urgently asked to send in their gifts not later than to-morrow (Saturday). Gratefully acknowledged:—From Canterbury members, per Miss Burch: Mrs. Horsley, handkerchiefs; Miss Romanes, handkerchief sachets; Mrs. Walker, soap, scent and handkerchiefs; Miss Spinner and Miss Wilson, soap; Mrs. Gibson, Miss Sanderson, Mrs. Pryke, Miss Coomber, Miss Waddup, scent; Mrs. W. Wightwick, soap and sachets; Mrs. Underhill, soap, scent, handkerchiefs and large poster; Mrs. and Miss Harvey, hand-painted handkerchief and lavender sachets;

ALFRED DAY

Ladies' Tailor.

All Garments made in own work rooms.

Coat & Skirt IN SERGE, TWEED, and CLOTH.

MADE TO MEASURE FROM

£2 : 2 : 0

Serge Coat and Skirt 2 Gns.
Tweed, Cloth, or Linen 2 Gns.
Flannel, Hopbacks, Suitings &c. 2 12 6
Faced Cloth, Covert Coating 3 Gns.
Full length Coat 2 Gns.

Patterns & Designs post free. A special study made of fitting from pattern Boice or Self-Measurement Form. Carriage paid in any part of the United Kingdom.

ALFRED DAY,

51 & 52, Park St., Regent's Park (Gloucester Gate), London, N.W.

Mr. Bing, case of scent and soap; also Mrs. F. Furley, 21; Mrs. Newman (per Miss Burch), 10s. From Dover members: Miss Spink, 5s.; Mrs. Foster, 5s.; Mr. Bottle, scent; Miss Taylor, Mrs. Hay, Miss Seys Howell, Miss Darnall, soap; Miss Whishaw, handkerchiefs and soap. Per Miss Hazel Inglis: Mrs. Humford and Miss Graves, Indian embroidered handkerchiefs. Per Miss Worsfold: Miss Nell Key, 2s.

Miss Isabel Seymour will be glad of large quantities of evergreens for the decoration of part of the Portman Rooms. Ivy with berries and holly with berries are chiefly required. Evergreens may be sent to Miss Seymour, c/o Miss Brackenbury, 2, Campden Hill, W., not later than November 28. Any member who is accustomed to make evergreen decorations is asked to communicate with Miss Seymour, at 4, Clements Inn.

No article should be sold from any stall except as clear profit to the funds of the Union, and no agreement with manufacturers or others as to percentage can under any circumstances be allowed.

SPEAKERS' CLASS.

Hon. Elocution Mistress—Miss Rosa Leo, 43, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W.
Hon. Secretary—Miss Hale, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

More speakers are wanted, as many meetings will have to be held during the coming months. Will those who can do this work therefore join these classes, which are an excellent means of obtaining up-to-date facts and of giving confidence before speaking at street corners? There is also a library for members of the class, so that everyone can get well grounded in all subjects. To-night the speakers will discuss "the present position of the movement from the point of view of the W.S.P.U." Miss Leo's private classes take place every Saturday at 4 p.m. and every Tuesday at 7.45 p.m., by kind permission of Mrs. Ayton, at 41, Norfolk Square, W. All communications regarding these should be addressed to Miss Leo, and those concerning the public classes to Miss Hale.

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

2, Robert Street, Strand, W.C. Telephone: City 1214.
President—Mrs. Forbes Robertson.
Organising Secretary—Miss G. M. Conolan.

The Members' At Home will be held at 2, Robert Street, to-day (Friday), at 3 p.m. The hostess will be Mrs. Veasey. Speeches on the Deputation to the Prime Minister and the Militant Agitation by Mrs. Arneliffe Sennett, Miss Maud Hoffman, Miss Muriel Matters and Miss Winifred Mayo. A meeting will be held in the Grand Hall of the Criterion Restaurant on Friday, December 1, at 3 p.m., at which Miss Rosa Leo will, by special request, repeat her rendering of "The Awakening," which was so much appreciated at the last At Home. Mrs. Gerald du Maurier will be the hostess. Lady Chasree, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, L.L.B., and Mr. Campbell Johnston will be the speakers, and Miss Janet Steer will take the chair.

EVANS' ANTISEPTIC THROAT PASTILLES
for Throat & Voice.
They act with remarkable effect in all affections of the Throat and vocal organs. Used by the most notable Public Speakers, Preachers, Singers, Actors, etc.
Sold in 1/- & 4/- boxes by all Chemists.
All genuine Evans' Pastilles are marked with a bar.
Sole Manufacturers: EVANS BROS., LEBROCK & WEBB, Ltd., Liverpool & London.
Free sample on receipt of penny postage and name of this paper.

THE WISE WOMAN

WILL ORDER COAL NOW FROM

WILLIAM CLARKE & SON

Stove Coal £2/6 Special House 25/6
Large Kitchen 23/6 Best Household 28/6
Roaster Nuts 23/6 Silksone 27/6
Best Nuts 25/6 Anthracite Nuts 40/6

341, GRAY'S INN ROAD, KING'S CROSS, W.C.
98, QUEEN'S ROAD, BAYSWATER, W.
Telephones: 628, 1592 and 2718 North, 565 Paddington, &c.
Deliveries most parts of London (Country by arrangement).

"Appetite comes with eating" when the meal is enjoyed. Nothing else brings out the flavour of the viands, gives such a zest to the meal as does the use of good, freshly-made mustard—Colman's D.S.F. Mustard.



Good Mustard "draws out" the flavour of the meat—does not disguise it like many other so-called appetisers. It is appetising because it not only puts an edge on the appetite, but also because it makes the food more appetising.

Colman's mustard

D. S. F.

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ABERDEEN.

Organiser—Miss Lillias Mitchell, Shop—7, Bon Accord Street. Hon. Sec.—Miss Emily Fussell.
Fri., Nov. 24.—Inverurie, Town Hall, Miss Lucy Burns, B.A. Chair: Provost Skinner, 8 p.m.
Sat., Nov. 25.—Aberdeen, Café Vegetaria, Miss Lucy Burns, B.A., 3.30 p.m.; Demonstration, Wallace Monument, 8 p.m.

BATH.

Shop—12, Walcot St. Hon. Organiser—Mrs. Mansel.
Sat., Nov. 25.—Assembly Rooms, Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck. Chair: Mrs. Mansel, 3.30 p.m.
Sat., Dec. 2.—Assembly Rooms, Mrs. Montague, Mrs. Mansel, 3.30 p.m.

BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT.

Office—47, John Bright Street. Tel., 1443 Midland.
Organisers—Miss Dorothy Evans and Miss Gladys Hazel.
Wed., Nov. 29.—Birmingham, Town Hall, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B., Viscount Wolmer. Chair: L. S. Amery, Esq., M.P., 8 p.m.

BRIGHTON, HOVE AND DISTRICT.

Office—5, North Street, Quadrant. Tel. 4883 Nat.
Organiser—Miss G. Allen.
Sat., Nov. 25.—Sea Front, G. Harding, Esq., 3.30 p.m.
Sun., Nov. 26.—Sea Front, G. Harding, Esq., 11.30 a.m.
Tues., Nov. 28.—Assembly Rooms, Hon. Mrs. Haverfield. Chair: Miss Elizabeth Robins, 8 p.m.

CARDIFF.

Organiser—Miss Rachel Barrett, 93, Ninian Road.
Will all members who can help in any way towards working up Miss Christabel Pankhurst's meeting on November 30 write to the organiser.
Thurs., Nov. 30.—Cardiff, Park Hall, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B.

DUNDEE AND EAST FIFE.

Office—61, Nethergate. Organiser—Miss Fraser Smith, M.A. Hon. Sec.—Miss McFarlane.
Sat., Nov. 25.—Stall at Flower Market, 2.10 p.m.
Wed., Nov. 29.—61, Nethergate, 8 p.m.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND.

Shop and Office—552, Sauchiehall Street.
Tel.: 618, Charing Cross. Organiser—Miss Wylie.
Fri., Nov. 24.—Charing Cross Hall, At Home, Miss Parker, 3.30 p.m.
Sat., Dec. 2.—Jumble Sale.

HALIFAX AND HUDDERSFIELD.

Organiser—Miss Annie Williams, 1, Fitzwilliam St. West, Huddersfield.
Fri., Nov. 24.—Huddersfield, Parochial Hall, Miss C. Kilburn, Miss Annie Williams, 3.30 p.m.
Wed., Nov. 23.—Ripponden, Zion Congregational School, Miss Gertrude H. Holroyd, Miss Annie Williams, 7 p.m.

HAMMERSMITH.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Haebleicher, 47, Queensborough Terrace, Bayswater, W.
Tickets for the entertainment on November 22 are to be obtained from Mrs. Maund, 8, Edith Road, West Kensington; Mrs. Rowe, 11, Irving Mansions, Queen's Club Gardens, W. and from the Hon. Sec. Miss Mackay. Will members make every effort to make this a success?

HASTINGS AND ST. LEONARDS.

Organiser—Miss D. A. Bowker, Shop: 4, Trinity Street, Hastings. Telephone M. 794.
Sat., Nov. 26.—Shop, Members' Meeting, 3 p.m.
Mon., Nov. 27.—Hastings, 8, Trinity Street, At Home, Miss Hicks, M.A., 4 to 6 p.m.

ILFRACOMBE AND BARNSTAPLE.

Hon. Sec. and Treasurer—Mrs. du Bouoy Hawby, St. Mary's, Broad Park Avenue, Ilfracombe.
Hon. Lit. Secretary—Miss Hall, Burning Home, Larkstone, Ilfracombe.
Mon., Nov. 27.—2, Larkstone Villas, Exhibition of Bags, 5 p.m.

KENSINGTON.

Shop and Office—143, Church Street, Kensington, W. Tel., 2116 Western. Hon. Sec.—Miss Evelyn Sharp.
In view of recent happenings, it is of great importance that the meeting at Queen's Gate Hall, Harrington Road (South Kensington Station), should be well filled next Monday, November 27 (see programme). Tickets, 2s. 6d., 1s. and 6d., to be obtained at the shop or at the Hall.

LAMBETH.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. A. M. Hawkins, 50, Hackford Road, Brixton.
A meeting will be held in Claydon's Hall, near Kensington Gate, on Wednesday next, November 29 (see programme). Tickets, 6d. and 3d., can be had from Mrs. Hawkins.

LEEDS AND DISTRICT.

Office—3, Cockridge Street.
Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips.
Sun., Nov. 26.—Normanton, Dodsworth Institute, Wakefield Road, Women's Adult School, Miss Mary Phillips, 2.45 p.m.
Mon., Nov. 27.—3, Cockridge Street, Sewing Party, 7.30 p.m.

LEICESTERSHIRE AND NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Office—14, Bowling Green Street, Leicester. Tel.: 1718 Leicester. Organiser—Miss Dorothy Pethick.
Fri., Nov. 24.—St. Martin's, G. F. Room, Sewing Meeting, 5.9 p.m.

NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.

Office—73, Blackett Street.
Organiser—Miss Laura Ainsworth.
Mon. Nov. 27.—Prodhoe Debating Society, Miss Laura Ainsworth, 7.30 p.m.
Wed., Nov. 29.—Office, At Home, 7.30 p.m.
Thurs., Nov. 30.—North Shields Co-operative Society, Miss Laura Ainsworth, 7.30 p.m.
Fri., Dec. 1.—South Shields, Victoria Hall, At Home, 7.30 p.m.

NEWPORT.

Office—11, Stow Hill, Newport, Mon.
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Humphrey Mackworth.
Mon., Nov. 27.—11, Stow Hill, Sewing Meeting, 5.15 p.m.
Wed., Nov. 29.—Temperance Hall, Room No. 2, At Home, Miss Evelyn Sharp, 3.20 p.m.

NOTTINGHAM.

Office—6, Carlton Street. Tel., 4511.
Organisers—Miss Roberts and Miss Crocker.
Mon., Nov. 27.—8, Carlton Street, Sewing Meeting. Hostess: Mrs. Shepherd, 3.9 p.m.
Tues., Nov. 28.—Wheelergate, Morley's Café, Dr. Leitha Fairchild. Chair: Miss S. Hutchinson, 8 p.m.
Wed., Nov. 29.—8, Carver's Green, South, The Park, Sewing Meeting, 7.30 p.m.
Thurs., Nov. 30.—5, Cavendish Crescent South, The Park, Sewing Meeting, 7.30 p.m.

PORTSMOUTH AND SOUTHAMPTON.

Organiser—Miss C. A. L. Marsh, 6, Pelham Road, Portsmouth, and 41, Oxford Street, Southampton.
Fri., Nov. 24.—Portsmouth, Town Hall Square, 7.15 p.m.
Tues., Nov. 28.—Portsmouth, Town Hall Square, 7.30 p.m.; Southampton, 81, Alma Road, Sewing Meeting, 3.30-6.30 p.m.
Wed., Nov. 29.—Portsmouth, near St. Mary's Church, 7.30 p.m.
Fri., Dec. 1.—Portsmouth, Albert Hall, the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, the Rev. Ivory Cripps, B.A., 8 p.m.

STANFORD-LE-HOPE, ESSEX.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Bland, "Blowars."
A crowded and enthusiastic meeting was held at Ruskin Hall on Tuesday November 14. Mrs. Drummond was the speaker, and the Rev. Cecil Baylis was in the chair. The former made a most excellent and lucid speech, which was much appreciated. Many thanks to all members and sympathisers who helped to make the meeting such a success. Collection amounted to 10s. 6d. Gratefully acknowledged: Sympathisers, 13s.

TORQUAY AND PAIGNTON.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Haine, Sawwood, St. Andrew's Road, Paignton.
Will members and friends please note that Mrs. Haine has kindly undertaken Secretary's work, and all communications should be addressed as above.

WALLASEY.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Mahood, Barrowcroft Bridge, Lancs.
Mrs. P. Heathcote, 21, St. Martin's Lane, Lisnard.
Mon., Nov. 27.—1, Mainwaring Road, Seacombe, Mrs. Rosling. Chair: Mrs. Mahood, 8 p.m.

WINGANTON.

Wed., Nov. 29.—Town Hall, Mrs. H. Bailie Weaver, Mrs. Montague. Chair: Mrs. Mansel, 8 p.m.

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LADY ART WORKERS' GUILD. 25, Old Broad Street. Exhibition and Sale of Women's Work. Jewellery, painting, leather, needlework, etc. Inspection invited. Admission by visiting card.

LOST PROPERTY. Found last Thursday, November 9, after meeting, a clinical thermometer. Apply, Miss Kerr, Lost Property Department, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

MISS NELLIE SARGENT.—Steinway Hall, Evening of Recitation and Song, December 12, 8.15. Tickets, 7s. 6d., 5s., 3s. 1s., at Hall, or Miss Nellie Sargent, 8, Middleton Road, Camden Road, N.

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